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GRAECO-ARABICA



Δ΄ ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ
ΕΛΛΗΝΟ-ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΟ-ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgement 9

Fifth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and Graeco-African Studies – Organizing Committee 10

The Fifth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and Graeco-African Studies 11

Rudolf Macuch
The μεταγραφαὶ of Jesus' words in the Gospels and the traditional pronunciation of Samaritan Aramaic 13

Olga Frolova
The Seyyid al-Baṭṭaāl Novel in a Manuscript at Leningrad University Library 19

Lusien Basch
Navires et bateaux coptes: état des questions en 1991 23

V. Christides
Raid and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Treatise by Muḥammad bn. 'Umar, the Faqīh *from Occupied Moslem Crete, and the* Rhodian Sea Law, *Two Parallel Texts* 63

Μιχ. Σ. Κορδώσης
Ασσάμ (ΒΑ Ινδία): Η πύλη από και προς Κίνα 103

David Graf
Early Hellenistic Travel Tales and Arabian Utopias 111

Théodore Papadopoullos
Influences historiques sur l'Afrique Orientale a travers l'Océan Indien 119

Gamal Mohd. A. Al-Tahir
The Nubian Archers in Pre-Islamic and Islamic Periods 139

Averil Cameron
The Byzantine reconquest of N. Africa and the Impact of Greek culture 153

Michel M. Mazzaoui
The conquest of Alexandria according to the early Arab historians: A critical appraisal 167

Εμμανουήλ Μικρογιαννάκης
Δημήτριος ὁ «ἄρξας Κυρήνης» στὴν ἐπιγραφὴ IG XI₄ 1097 177

C. Edmund Bosworth
Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān Al-Ṭarsūsī's Siyar al-Thughūr *and the Last Years of Arab Rule in Tarsus (Fourth/Tenth Century)* 183

Dimitrios Letsios
The Ethiopian Threat as recorded in Priscus' Fragment Nr. 6 197

Charles Verlinden
Guerre et traite comme sources de l'esclavage dans l'empire byzantin aux IXème et Xème siècles 207

N.A. Koutrakou
The Image of the Arabs in Middle-Byzantine Politics. A Study in the Enemy Principle (8th-10th Centuries) 213

Gotthard Strohmaier
Galen of Pergamon in Arabic and the editorial program of the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum 225

Katerina Karapli
Speeches of Arab Leaders to their Warriors according to Byzantine Texts 233

Ana Labarta
Un nouveau manuscrit de la version arabe de la "Materia Medica" de Dioscoride 243

Anna Tabaki
L'édition arabo-grecque de la Géographie *d'Aboulféda par Dimitrios Alexandridis (1807) et sa 'fortune' au début du XIXe siècle* 251

T. Fahd
La traduction arabe de l'Iliade 259

Nikolaus I. Serikoff
A Dictionary of Greek Borrowings and Loan Words in Arabic. (Tasks, Methods, Preliminary Results) 267

D.K. Raïos
L'invention de l'hydroscope et la tradition arabe 275

Γιώργος Κεχαγιόγλου
Νεοελληνική πεζογραφία με ανατολική προέλευση και η αναβίωση της νεοελληνικής πεζογραφικής μυθοπλασίας στον 18ο αιώνα 287

Henry I. MacAdam
A New Greek Inscription from Northern Jordan 295

Σ. Αποστολοπούλου
Σχετικά με την καινούρια έκδοση του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα 303

Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz
Remarks on Kom el Demas in Alexandria 315

Marguerite Rassart-Debergh
Alexandrie et la peinture chrétienne d'Egypte 321

Harry E. Tzalas
"The Tomb of Alexander the Great" – The history and the legend in the Greco-Roman and Arab times 329

Ahmed Etman
Round Table – Naguib Mahfouz and Arabic Literature: Problems of Translation 355

Ευάγγελος Χρυσός
Από τη Μυριόβιβλο *του Φωτίου στο* Κιτάπ αλ-Φίχριστ *του αλ-Ναδίμ. Θρησκευτική Ορθοδοξία και θύραθεν παιδεία στο Βυζάντιο και στο Ισλάμ* 359

Vincent Gabrielsen, David Nicolle, Νίκη Κουτράκου, Δημήτρης Λέτσιος, Σ. Αποστολοπούλου
Book Reviews 369

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FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
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THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
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The European Cultural Centre of Delphi will organise the Fifth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies at Delphi on June 17-20 1993.

Papers for presentation and discussion at the Congress should be on any of the following topics:

1. Greek Gods in the Near East.
2. Sea-Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Gulf Area and the Indian Ocean (2nd c. A.D. - 14th c. A.D.).
3. Translations pf Greek works into Oriental Languages.
4. A limited number of Graeco-Oriental and African topics.

There will also be two roundtable conferences: (a) Tawfiq Haqīm and the Arab theatre. (b) Christianity and Islam.

Invited to the Congress are scholars and researchers from Greece, Europe, the Near East, Africa and the USA.

The μεταγραφαὶ of Jesus' words in the Gospels and the traditional pronunciation of Samaritan Aramaic

Greek cultural presence in the Near East was a factor of extreme importance not only for the knowledge of Oriental culture and history but also for Oriental philology. In bilingual and multilingual Oriental milieus it was habitual to accompany inscriptions in native tongue with a Greek version, which greatly help the understanding of the text.

Still more important than such short inscriptions were translations of Oriental books into Greek which were commonly practiced in Hellenistic times. The translators were mostly Orientals who wanted to propagate their national and religious thought in the Hellenistic world.

The most splendid example of this kind is the most extensive translation of the whole Old Testament, the Septuagint (LXX). Although its Hebrew original is eagerly studied by Jewish and Christian theologians, it played no role for the Apostles whose Bible was the LXX.

It is still more surprising that these Apostles, whose mother tongue was West Aramaic spoken also by Jesus, preserved us no Aramaic Gospel and even no complete collection of the Aramaic words of their Master. Frequent Semitisms in the Gospels prove that their authors were thinking in a Semitic idiom. These Semitisms allow us very interesting approaches to the mother tongue of Jesus and the original Aramic version of the Gospels which generations of prominent Aramaic scholars attempted to restore. Such speculative restorations are, of course, arbitrary, problematic and doubtful. They repose on the knowledge of Galilean and Christian Palestinian Aramaic which started to be written only three of four centuries later. Spoken Aramaic used not yet to be written in Jesus time. After the standard official Imperial Aramaic of the pre-Christian era fell into disuse, the Jews developed an Aramaic κοινή which as a literary language was understood in the whole diaspora, in Palestine as well as in Babylonia and Egypt, and in which their official

Targums were redacted. It was no specimen of the language spoken by the people. Although at the beginning of our era some popular Palestinian expressions and forms penetrated into some Aramaic documents and may be considered as the most ancient specimens of spoken Palestinian Aramaic, the writing of spoken Aramaic was far from being customary in the first three Christian centuries.

This explains sufficiently why no Aramaic prototype of the Gospels has been preserved. It was not the neglect of the original Aramaic words of Jesus which prevented the evangelists from putting them down. It was rather the total lack of literary tradition of spoken Aramaic which was prohibitive. These original Aramaic words might have been transmitted orally during two or three generations at least, but it was easier to render them in a language with a strong literary tradition, sc. Greek, than to reproduce them in the original language which had absolutely no literary tradition. Nevertheless, the evangelists thought Aramaic even while writing Greek. This is proved by their idiomatic Aramaic locutions, frequent use of Aramaic words sometimes in slightly hellenized forms and especially by the exact μεταγραφαὶ of Jesus' Aramaic words and phrases. All these Aramaisms, esp. the μεταγραφαὶ representing Jesus' *ipsissima verba,* are extremely important for the reconstruction of Jesus' mother tongue.

There are about thirty Aramaic words in the Gospels, partly in the original form, partly provided with Greek endings. Part of them consists of proper names which need not be translated, although two of them were rendered in Greek for a better understanding by Greek readers: Βοανη Ργες as υἱοὶ βροντῆς (Mk 3:17) and Κηφᾶς ὅ ἑρμηνεύται Πέτρος (John 1:42). Another part consists of expressions from daily life, partly religious, partly profane, partly in original Aramaic form, partly slightly hellenized and provided with a Greek ending in order to comply with the taste of Greek readers. In the last case the evangelists could obviously not have aimed at an exact transliteration of Aramaic expressions but rather at making them more pleasant in the Greek context.

Quite different is the case of the μεταγραφαὶ of direct words and phrases pronounced by Jesus at three specific occasions and fully preserved in their Aramaic original and accompanied with Greek translation. Although there are only three such phrases, in which the evangelists paid special attention to their exact Aramaic pronunciation and transcribed them phonetically, the six words of these μεταγραφαὶ give us better and safer insight into the phonetic and morphological structure of Aramaic spoken by Jesus than the thirty single Aramaic

expressions altogether. Moreover, they lead us into a more ancient phase of phonetic development of Aramaic than which is known to us from later traditional pronunciations of Aramaic, namely Jewish and Syriac.

Some preliminary remarks about the development of Aramaic phonetics are necessary before we enter the discussions of the μεταγραφαὶ of Jesus' words. The most typical phenomenon of later Aramaic is the reduction and later total vanishing of original short vowels in unstressed open syllables. Since, as a rule, the penult syllable used to be stressed, the original short vowel remained only in this position, and through its reduction *(šwa mobile)* or complete vanishing *(šwa quiescens)* in all other open syllables Aramaic became a language extremely poor in vowels. The original Semitic *qatala,* as it is used in Arabic and Ethiopic, became *qṭal,* one syllable instead of the original three.

However, the μεταγραφαὶ retained the full vowel in all unstressed positions. Scholars of previous generations regarded them as inexact and mistaken, because they judged them exclusively according to the later Jewish and Syro-Aramaic pronunciations which infiltrated from East to West, and finally but only centuries later, affected also the pronunciation of West Aramaic, which however preserved the original short vowels in open unstressed syllables at the beginning of our era.

How can this be proved? There is a peculiar traditional pronunciation of Samaritan Aramaic (:SA) which totally rejects this late phonetic innovation and not only preserves the original full vowels in all open before-stress syllables but also prolongates them. A short vowel is possible only in an open after-stress syllable. Nevertheless, this vowel remains and is not dropped as in other Aramaic dialects, where it is omitted in pronunciation, although still kept in writing for the sake of historical orthography. The prolongation of original short vowels in before-stress syllables is obviously secondary, but it proved to be an excellent means of their preservation in positions where they were mostly endangered and exposed to vanishing.

Of course, many doubts about the traditional pronunciation of SA are justified, and I myself sufficiently expressed them in the introduction to the phonetic section of my *Grammatik des Samaritanischen Aramäisch* (1982), pp. 51-59. The Samaritan reading of their Targum is wavering and uncertain and would hardly constitute a solid basis for the control of the phonetic structure of the μεταγραφαί.

Nevertheless, there is a quite solid basis for this purpose in the traditional recitation of the Samaritan Liturgies. These liturgical hymns

and prayers were written in metrical form in the fourth Christian century and have been uninterruptedly recited in choir during sixteen centuries. Their metrical language and uninterrupted liturgical recitation prevented them from essential phonetic changes. Therefore, they give us a reliable comparative basis for a phonetic reconsideration of the μεταγραφαὶ of Jesus' words.

Jesus said to the dead daughter of Jairus: Ταλιθὰ (var. Ταλειθὰ) κοῦμι (var. κούμ) ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον· τὸ κοράσιον, σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε (Mk 5:41). Although the word *ṭālīṯa* "girl" is not attested in Samaritan writings, masc. pl. *ṭālæyya* occurs several times. Its pronunciation with a long *ā* in the first syllable as opposite to Syr. *ṭ^{e}lāyē* proves that also fem. sg. must have been pronounced with a full vowel in the first syllable, hence *ṭālīṯa,* not with a semivowel as later in Syr. and Jewish-Aramaic *ṭ^{e}līṯā.*

The fem. sg. imperative *qūmi* "stand up!" is also attested in the Sam. Targum Gen. 21:18, and since the Samaritans used no historical orthography, the final vowel of this word was certainly pronounced. Therefore, the var. κούμ to Mk must be considered as a miscorrection in order to adapt this original form to the later pronunciation.

Most instructive is the μεταγραφή of one word which Jesus said to a deaf and mute man in Decapolis after he touched his ears and his tongue: ἐφφαθά ὅ ἐστιν διανοίχθητι (Mk 7:34). This word contains a plenty of phonetic phenomena known from SA: 1) total progressive assimilaion of *t* of the prefix of the reflexive *iṯpa'el*-form to the first radical *(‹*ithpataḥ),* 2) spirantization of the reduplicated labial *p (:ff)* known also from the South-Babylonian Mandaic dialect but impossible in Syriac and Jewish Aramaic pronunciation, 3) the preservation of the full vowel in the second syllable of the reflexive stem as opposite to Syr. *eṯp^{e}'el* and similar Jewish pronunciations, 4) total vanishing of the laryngeal *(ḥ).*

The same form occurs twice in the Samaritan Liturgies[1] and is traditionally read *iffǣtæ* in both places.

Still more instructive are Jesus' last words on the cross: ἐλωῒ ἐλωῒ λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί; ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον· ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; (Mk 15:34), of which Matthew 27:46 has a slightly different hebraizing version: ἠλεὶ ἠλεὶ λαμά ζαφθανεί (var. λεμὰ σαβαχθανεί), which is a μεταγραφὴ of the Hebrew original of the Psalm 22:2: *ēlī ēlī lāmā '^{a}zaḇtānī* rather than of the Aramaic words

1. A.S. Cowley, The Samaritan Liturgy (I-II), Oxford 1909, I, p. 49:23, 54:15, cf. Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans, III, Pt. II (Jerusalem 1967), p. 235:109.

preserved by Mark. Since this phrase is a quotation from the mentioned Psalm, it cannot be excluded that Jesus eventually pronounced it in Hebrew and was therefore misunderstood by people standing under the cross who thought that he was calling for Elias, according to Matthew. Nevertheless, Mark preserved a genuine Aramaic version of these words. The question whether Jesus really spoke them in Aramaic or was simply quoting the Hebrew original of the mentioned Psalm verse is of lesser importance. At any rate, Mark was closer to the Aramaic tradition of the Gospel, and his μεταγραφὴ deserves attention: ἐλωῒ ἐλωῒ is an exact transcription of H. and Aram. *'^{e}lōhī* after the vanishing of the laryngeal *h.* The Samaritan pronunciation *ēluwwi* with a reduplicated *w* may be secondary, and it could hardly have been original. However, it is clear that Mark's ἐλωῒ might very well have served as a starting point for the SA prosodical development: *ēluwwi.*

With Jesus' last word σαβαχθανεί = SA *šābaq/χtāni* we reach the culminating point of our considerations. The same word is attested in the Sam. Targum Deut. 28:20 and its pronunciation corresponds admirably to our μεταγραφὴ in all details[2], whereas in Syr. *šḇaqtan(y)* it was reduced to two syllables instead of the original four.

The exact correspondences are certainly not accidental. Jesus spoke a Galilean Aramaic dialect closely related to Samaritan. Differences between these two dialects might have been so minimal that the Jews in Jerusalem did not all realize them and said to Jesus: οὐ καλῶς λέγομεν ἡμεῖς ὅτι Σαμαρείτης εἶ σύ; (John 8:48). The close relation of these two dialects is still proved by the exact correspondence between the μεταγραφαὶ and the traditional recitation of the SA liturgies.

The high age of this Samaritan pronunciation is confirmed also by the ancient pre-masoretic pronunciation of Hebrew, as it was transcribed by the greatest Christian theologian of the 2nd and 3rd cent., Origines from Alexandria. In his extremely important work named Hexapla[3] this scholar presented the μεταγραφαὶ of the Hebrew text of the OT. Since Hebrew pronunciation in the last centuries B.C. developed under Aramaic

2. As to the pronunciation of *q* as χ cf. a further example from Samaritan Aramaic: *yiqfāli* = *yiχfāli,* Ben-Ḥayyim, l.c. (n. 1), p. 292 n. 61. The spirantization of *q* before *t* is also known from Neo-Aramaic dialects, cf. Neo-Mandaic *bedaxtī* (for *bedaq-),* R. Macuch, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie* (1989, *Porta Linguarum Orientalium,* N.S. XVIII), p. 204 (s.v. *BDQ),* passim. According to the μεταγραφαὶ this phonetic phenomenon appears to be quite ancient.

3. Ed. E. Field, *Originis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta,* I-II, Oxford 1875 (reprint 1964).

influence, these μεταγραφαὶ are priceless for our knowledge of the linguistic structure of both ancient Hebrew and Aramaic. It is noteworthy that in general they confirm both main linguistic phenomena known from the μεταγραφαὶ of Jesus' words, namely the preservation of full vowels in open unstressed syllables and the loss of the etymological laryngeals. Therefore, this typical pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic known to us from the Samaritan tradition could not have been limited only to the Samaritans but must have been common to both the Jews and the Samaritans. The Jewish masorets fixed only the traditional Jewish pronunciation at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and its comparison with the μεταγραφαὶ of the first Christian centuries clearly proves that it greatly deviated from the pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic at the beginning of our era.

RUDOLF MACUCH

The Seyyid al-Baṭṭāl Novel in a Manuscript at Leningrad University Library

The manuscript under consideration is kept in the Oriental Room at Leningrad University Library (MS.O.599) and contains sixty sheets: 21x15; 18x12.5; 20; the paper is of European make, and the handwriting is a clear naskh in black ink with green and red titles. The manuscript has come to the library from Kazem-bek's collection.

Muhammad Ali (Alexander Kassimovich) Kazem-bek (1802-1870), thw first Dean of the Oriental Department at the University, was a remarkable scholar who combined in his person both the Oriental tradition and the Western scientific knowledge. He came from Azerbaijan and was a Moslem who adopted Christianity when he was eighteen. Later he taught Oriental languages (Turkish, Persian, Arabic) during twenty years at Kazan University and, from 1849 to the end of his life, at St Petersburg University where in 1855-59 and 1866-70 he was Dean of the Oriental Department[1]. The information on the collection's owner may help a better understanding of the contents of the Seyyid al-Baṭṭāl novel in the manuscript.

The manuscript begins with the words, "Nadjid ibn Hishām said". This name, with nisba "al-'Āmiri", is common for the famous Arabic folklore epopee (sira) about the athletic heroine Fāṭima Thāt al-Himme[2]. The name may belong to one of the novel's narrators or story-tellers.

1. Рзаев А.К. Мухаммед Али М. Казем-бек. Изд."Наука".М.1989.
(Rzaev A.K. Muhammed Ali M. Kazem-bek. Pbl. "Nauka". Moscow, 1989).

2. نبيلة ابراهيم • سيرة الاميرة ذات الهمة • القاهرة، د • ت •
The epopee in Russian translation: Life of the valiant Fatima, and Story of her glorious forefathers' feats. Translated from Arabic by B.Ya.Shidfar. Pbl. "Nauka". Moscow, 1987.
Canard M. Delhemma, épopée des guerres arabo-byzantines. "Byzantion", 1935, t. 10.
Canard M. Delhemma, Sayyid Battal et Omar el-No'man. "Byzantion", 1937, t. 12.
Steinbach U. Dat al-Himma. Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem arabischen Volksroman. Wiesbaden, 1972.

The novel consists of five parts. The beginning is a battle between Byzantines and Moslems at Deyr as-Zeyt, or Cloister of Olive Oil. The Byzantines gain the upper hand. The cause of the Moslems' defeat is that the athletic Fāṭima and the brave al-Baṭṭal's son al-Ḥuṣayn has disappeared.

Events of the second part take place in the Byzantine field-camp. A monk comes from Deyr az-Zeyt Cloister, but in fact he is al-Ḥuṣayn in disguise who, by a ruse, sets free Fāṭima and al-Baṭṭāl. In the battle which goes on, the villain 'Uqba, who has betrayed the Islam and has begun to fight on the Byzantines' side, is taken prisoner.

The third part is a battle in which the Moslems win a victory. During this battle a sister of 'Uqba, 'Āqiba, has disappeared and, in her turn, has set 'Uqba free by a ruse.

In the fourth part, the Moslems attempt to outwit the King of Byzantium. Al-Baṭṭāl and his son, disguised as monks, try to seize the fortress but suddenly 'Uqba appears and unmasks them. They are taken prisoners. Meanwhile Fāṭima and her fighting men fall into an ambush. The Byzantines throw at the Moslems vessels filled with combustibles, or fuel oil, which is obviously the Greek fire, but Fāṭima intercepts them in the air and in her turn throws them at the Byzantines. The Byzantines' new weapon is traps. Fāṭima and her fighting men endeavour to save themselves in a tower which proves to be a snare constructed by Euclides the scientists. They are taken prisoners and brought to the prison in the Cloister where al-Baṭṭāl and his son are supposed to be kept, but the prison is empty because the two men have run away with the help of al-Baṭṭāl's second son, Maẕbaḥūn.

In the fifth part, Marḥūma, sister of the King of Byzantium, visits the Cloister after her terrible dream. She wants to tell the old holy monk Firqūn about it, but the monk is al-Baṭṭāl in disguise. The Moslems are rescued and Marḥūma intends to adopt Islam under the influence of al-Baṭṭāl.

Such is the novel's end which is happy for the Moslems.

It is possible to consider this novel as a part of the epopee about Thāt al-Himme, although the main characters are not only Fāṭima and al-Baṭṭāl but also the son and grandson of Fāṭima and the sons of al-Baṭṭāl. The battle scenes which are constructed according to one and the same scheme, the stories about taking prisoners and setting them free, the passages borrowed from medieval chronicles – all these are usually considered to be tedious for the modern reader, but in the Middle Ages these scenes and fragments used to be very attractive for the peasants and craftsmen whose work was badly monotonous. It should be also

remembered that, although homogenous in form, the parts of the novel contrast one another in a sense; as a result, some deflection from the logical standard of perception happens in the readers' and listeners' minds because they expect their favourite heroes to win. The novel's course is impetuous, with the mysterious events following one another in rapid succession. The characters of the novel are shown in contrast (opposition): al-Baṭṭāl - 'Uqba, Fāṭima - 'Āqiba. The method of contrast in semantics intensifies the listener's and reader's interest as well as his attention to the events and the results of the struggle. There is contrast also in the style and language of the novel. For example, a fragment about the villain 'Uqba is completely different from another one about Fāṭima:

وطار عقبة كأنه العقاب وسمع أصواتهم وقد علم أنه قد خلص
من العذاب وتأمل القوم واذا بهم كلهم رهبان وعليهم المسوح
مثل الغربان وأخته عاقبة فى أوائلهم مثل الشيطان (ق ٢٦)

"And 'Uqba flew as /carrion/-eagle, when he heard their voices and understood that he got rid of pain. He looked narrowly at the people and there all of them are monks black dressed like ravens and ahead of them his sister 'Āqiba looks like Satan."

Another one is about Fāṭima:

ولهبت النار فى الهوى ونظرت الاميرة ذلك فقفزت اليها
أسرع من الحنق اذا دنى وأخذتها بكفّها وقد صلّت على محمد
المصطفى وكبّرت وضربته بها (ق ٤٤)

"And the fire flared up in the air. The lady rushed to it more quickly than the wrathful /foe/ when he approached. She caught it with her hand, glorified Allah and Muḥammad the Chosen, then dealt a blow with it."

The same phenomenon may be observed in the direct speech of the characters. Many dialectal words are common in the text. For example, برّانى (l.23) instead of خارجى – external; ايش (l.11) instead of ماذا – what; يكون حاضر (l.18b) instead of يكون حاضرا – he will be present; معاد (l.52) instead of ميعاد – time; نحنا (l.59b) instead of نحن – we; عندها (l.2) instead of عندئذ then; اللى (l.5b) instead of الذى – which; and so on. The cause of this phenomenon lies in the orientation of the novel at the common people. The events in the novel are enthralling because of the exotic stories told about mysterious places, cloisters, constructions, buildings such as a wonderful reservoir with olive oil in the Cloister (l.6b) or the enigmatic tower constructed by Euclides (l.40-40b) or a great chuech (l.57), etc.

womenfolk in Arabic folk-lore represent the malicious and perfidious principle; another type of woman, however, is praised in this novel as well as in all Arabic peoples' epopees. The woman here is an athletic human being, a warrior, the defender and protector of her nation[3].

The novel's course is impetuous, with events following one another in a swift tempo. The listeners and readers cannot help giving their unremitting attention to the riddles coming one after another, waiting for them to be explained.

The novel's construction and the logic of events described in it allow to conclude that the novel is an independent work, although its characters are connected with the famous medieval Arabic folklore epopee about Fāṭima Thāt al-Himme.

The conclusion is further confirmed by the popularity of the Seyyid al-Baṭṭāl novel in Turkic regions; for example, there is a very famous Turkish dastan about Seyyid al-Baṭṭāl[4]. The problem of cycles in Arabic folk epopees, and their combination in one tale, has been discussed earlier by a number of scholars: Iḥsān 'Abbās, J. Wellhausen, U. Steinbach, A. Krimsky, N. Ibrahimov[5].

The manuscript kept in the Oriental Room at Leningrad University Library is important for forming an idea about the epopee as a whole; it also allows to understand why a part of it exists in the form of a separate novel in Arab countries as well as in the entire Moslem world.

OLGA FROLOVA

3. Geyer R. Die arabischen Frauen in der Schlacht. Mitteilungen der Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien. Bd. 39. Wien, 1909.

Lichtenstaedter J. Women in the Aiyam al-'Arab. A study of female life during warfare in preislamic Arabia. L., 1935.

4. Die Fahrten des Sajjid Batthal. Ein alttürkischer Volks- und Sittenroman. Zum ersten Male vollständing übersetzt von H. Ethé. Bd. 1-2, Lpz., 1871.

Fleischer H.L. Über den türkischen Volksroman Sireti Sejjid Battal. Fleischer H.L. Kleinere Schriften: Gesammelt, durchgesehen und vermehrt. Bd. 3. Lpz., 1888.

5. Ибрагимов Н. Арабский народный роман. Изд,"Наука".М.,1984. С.62-97.
(Ibrahimov N. Arabic folk novel. Pbl. "Nauka". Moscow, 1984, p. 62-97).

Navires et bateaux coptes: état des questions en 1991

La dernière représentation d'un navire égyptien relevant de la tradition purement pharaonique remonte à Piankhi (751-716)[1]. L'iconographie navale égyptienne se raréfie ensuite sensiblement: c'est à peine si nous percevons sous Nechao une influence grecque ou phénicienne[2] et, quelques siècles plus tard des monnaies d'Alexandrie représentent, de manière fort schématique, des navires marchands de tradition romaine[3] ou des barques de culte. Ensuite s'étend un "blanc", à peine interrompu par de rarissimes images arabes ou turques, qui ne prendra fin qu'avec la publication en 1755 du *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie* du Danois Frédéric-Louis Norden, où l'on trouve par dizaines des images paraissant fidèles d'embarcations sur le Nil, bien suffisantes pour montrer que la "tradition pharaonique" a définitivement pris fin. Nous en serions toujours là si l'exploration de plus en plus systématique de maisons romaines d'époque tardive à Alexandrie et, surtout, celle de sites monastiques coptes, n'avaient révélé une véritable "explosion", aux 6e et 7e s., du thème du navire.

Les révélations apportées par cette iconographie ne peuvent encore être évaluées dans leur intégralité, notamment en raison de la difficulté de réunir les éléments d'un *corpus* suffisamment nombreux et cohérents, mais il est déjà possible d'établir un inventaire de l'"état des questions".

1. La continuité

On verra plus loin dans quelle mesure se manifeste, au travers de

1. B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs* (Londres, 1970), p. 140, fig. 408.

2. A ce sujet: L. Basch, "Trières grecques, phéniciennes et égyptiennes", *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 97, 1977, pp. 1-10.

3. Arie Ben-Eli (Ed.), *Ships and Parts of Ships on Ancient Coins* (Haifa, 1975), fig. 71: superbe image d'une grande *navis oneraria*.

l'imagerie navale copte, la rupture avec les traditions non seulement pharaoniques mais aussi gréco-romaines. Il subsiste cependant des éléments de continuité, que nous verrons plus loin, dont l'exemple le plus clair est celui que j'appellerais le "navire au lion" (fig. 1), que l'on peut dater d'environ 550 (au plus tôt) à 690 (au plus tard)[4]. Un tel document aurait pu être trouvé, sous la forme d'un graffito, genre auquel cette peinture, comme beaucoup d'autres peintures de navires coptes, s'apparente, n'importe où dans le monde romain du 1er s. av. J.-C. au 3e s. de notre ère: on retrouve le fort mât central, la coque pansue d'une *navis oneraria* typique, la voile certainement carrée et les cargues toutes ramenées vers l'arrière; on notera que les membrures sont représentées comme si le navire était vu aux rayons X, procédé fréquent chez les auteurs romains de graffiti[5]. Au sommet de l'extrémité de l'étrave, on observe une petite plate-forme entourée d'une balustrade (le *thorakion*[6]), au centre de laquelle figure une croix; celle-ci est-elle l'emblème chrétien ou l'ensemble mât-vergue supportant l'*artemo,* la voile avant? Il est difficile d'en décider sûrement; en faveur de la première hypothèse, on remarquera que la croix est dépourvue de toutes espèces de manoeuvres, au contraire du mât central. Mais en revanche, c'est bien en cet endroit que figure un court mât vertical, porteur de sa voile, sur un graffito de navire romain provenant de Sidi Khrebish et daté de la seconde moitié du 2e s. de notre ère (fig. 2)[7], graffito auquel le "navire au lion" s'apparente d'ailleurs fortement. L'explication pourrait être que l'auteur de la peinture a volontairement joué de l'ambiguité formelle mât + vergue/Croix, de telle sorte que les deux hypothèses ne sont pas forcément inconciliables. Il est toutefois une particularité qui distingue ce portrait de navire de ses "cousins" romains: la série continue d'anneaux qui court tout au long du mât central, du pont à la vergue. Je n'y vois guère qu'une seule explication possible: celle de crampons fixés dans le mât pour permettre de grimper aisément à son sommet. Une telle "échelle fixe" n'existe, à ma connaissance, sous une autre forme d'ailleurs, qu'à Rome, sur les *codicariae,* bateaux dont la fonction étaient d'apporter des marchandises au port de Rome; leur mât était fort particulier: il ne servait pas à porter une vergue, mais au halage le long des berges du Tibre. Cette fonction très particulière du mât explique la présence de taquets fixés tout au long du fût, permettant à l'équipage d'y grimper plus aisément[8]. Hormis ce cas très particulier, l'"échelle fixe" est inconnue en Grèce, à Rome et en Egypte. Les anneaux du "navire au lion" ont leurs successeurs dans l'Egypte actuelle: des taquets identiques à ceux des *codicariae* sur les mâts des navires traditionnels afin de permettre aux marins de grimper au sommet[9]. Apparemment, les marins coptes, et leurs successeurs, étaient moins agiles que leurs ancêtres de l'Ancien Empire, qui se rendaient au sommet du mât en se hissant sur l'étai[10].

La question la plus importante que pose le "navire au lion" est de savoir si le bâtiment figuré est contemporain de sa représentation – en d'autres termes: un tel navire existait-il encore au sours de la seconde moitié du 6e s. ou au 7e s. ? – ou s'il s'agit d'un "motif" traditionnel, copié et recopié au cours des âges? Cette question ne peut recevoir de réponse certaine, mais il serait étonnant qu'un navire du type de celui de Sidi Khrebish ait pu subsister inchangé pendant plus de trois siècles. En outre, l'*artemo,* généralement de surface réduite sur les navires des mosaïques du Portique des Corporations à Ostie (vers 190-200)[11], va devenir de plus en plus considérable au point d'atteindre presque, au 4e s., la taille de la grand-voile[12] et même, au 5e s., de l'égaler (fig. 3). Sans doute les documents que je viens de citer proviennent-ils de Tunisie, donc de la Méditerranée occidentale, mais on constate sur un graffito de Corinthe, datant vraisemblablement du 5e ou du 6e s. (fig. 4)[13] un allongement très sensible du mât avant. Dans ces conditions, la réalité de l'*artemo* minuscule du "navire au lion" me semble plutôt problématique et il me paraît loin d'être exclu qu'en fait de continuité, celle-ci soit uniquement d'ordre iconographique. Dans cette hypothèse, l'attachement à un motif typiquement gréco-romain n'en serait que plus remarquable.

4. Sur cette datation par la céramique: M. Egloff *in:* R. Kasser, *Kellia. Topographie. Recherches Suisses d'Archéologie Copte,* II (Genève, 1972), p. 144.

5. L. Basch, *Le Musée imaginaire de la marine antique* (Athènes, 1987) (Cité ci-après: *MIMA),* p. 376, n° 36; p. 379, n° 49 et 52; p. 380, n° 68; p. 483, fig. 1097.

6. Sur le *thorakion:* L. Casson, *Ships and Shipping in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), p. 233 (commentaire d'Athénée 11.474 f - 75 a).

7. Sur ce graffito: E. Pye, "The painted wallplaster from the House H, Sidi Khrebish", *Society for Libyan Studies, 6th Annual Report,* pp. 10-12.

8. Sur les *codicariae:* L. Casson, "Harbour and river boats of ancient Rome", *Journal of Roman Studies,* 55, 1965, pp. 31-39 et au sujet des taquets: pl. II, 3; III, 1; IV, 1 et V, 1.

9. Les taquets ont été notés par G.S. Colin dans ses "Notes de dialectologie arabe – II. Technologie de la batellerie du Nil", *BIFAO,* 19, 1922, p. 63. Il en donne le nom arabe: sellạm (pl.: salālem).

10. Landström, *op. cit.,* p. 43, fig. 117.

11. *MIMA,* fig. 1049, 1050, 1055 à 1059. Mais sur le trois-mâts de la fig. 1076, la surface de la voile avant a déjà sensiblement augmenté.

12. Mosaïques de Thémetra (Tunisie), *MIMA,* fig. 1109-1110.

13. Au sujet de cet important document: L. Basch, "Un navire marchand byzantin à Corinthe", *Neptunia,* n° 181, 1991, pp. 14-21.

2. *De la* baris *à la* dahabieh

Jusqu'à l'introduction du chemin de fer, la barque du Nil a constitué pratiquement le seul moyen de communication Nord – Sud de l'Egypte. Elle n'a pas fondamentalement changé de l'Ancien Empire à la *baris* décrite par Hérodote (II, 96); l'emplacement de la cabine destinée à abriter les voyageurs a cependant varié au cours des âges: au cours de l'Ancien et du Moyen Empire, on la trouve généralement proche de la poupe du bateau, alors qu'au Nouvel Empire, au contraire, on la trouve au centre du bateau, et on la voit fréquement traversée en son centre par le mât[14]. Le rôle de la *baris* sera, au 19e s., quant au transport des voyageurs, celui de la *dahabieh*[15] dont l'aspect est très caractéristique (fig. 5): une très longue cabine s'étend du centre du bateau à un point proche de la poupe; cette cabine n'est pas traversée par le mât. L'aspect général, très différent de celui des barques d'époque pharaonique, pourrait faire croire à une influence venue d'Europe. Or il n'en est rien: la dahabieh remonte bel et bien à l'époque copte, comme le démontrent les peintures et graffiti suivants datant vraisemblablement du 6e ou du 7e s.:

— peinture des Kellia (fig. 6);
— peinture d'Esna (fig. 7);
— graffiti d'Abydos (fig. 8, 9, 10 et 11);
— peinture de Baouît (fig. 12);
— graffito d'Assouan (fig. 13);

On pourrait diviser ces *dahabiehs* en deux groupes: celles dont la cabine est traversée par le mât (fig. 6, 7, 12 et 13) et les autres, c'est-à-dire tout le groupe d'Abydos.

3. *L'évolution du gréement*

Une schématisation grossière ferait considére que la voile pharaonique carrée (c'est-à-dire, en fait, plus large que haute à partir du Moyen Empire) est remplacée à l'époque moderne, par la voile latine, presque omni-présente sur les dessins de Norden (et qui ne subsiste plus, de jours, que sur le lac Menzaleh[16]). Un tel schéma négligerait

14. Landström, *op. cit.*, p. 99, fig. 313 et 316; p. 101, fig. 319; p. 102, fig. 322; p. 106, fig. 327.

15. Orthographe traditionnelle en français, mais dahabīyạ est la transcription correcte de l'arabe: Colin, *art. cit.*, p. 77.

16. La voile des bateaux qui promènent actuellement les touristes à Louxor et à Assouan n'est une voile latine, mais trapézoïdale. Son emploi est relativement récent en Egypte.

toutes les variations intermédiaires, mais c'est celui auquel nous serions condamnés sans les découvertes récentes de représentations romaines tardives et coptes, qui nous permettent l'esquisse suivante.

A. La continuité.

A partir de la 4e dynastie, on constate que les extrémités de la vergue se relèvent, la partie centrale restant horizontale[17]. Sous la 6e dynastie, c'est la vergue tout entière qui devient courbe[18]; l'exemple le plus caractéristique nous vient de la tombe de Djâou, à Deir el-Gebrâwi (fig. 14). La raison de cette courbure est, de toute évidence, l'agrandissement progressif de la surface de la voile, correspondant probablement au volume de la coque qu'elle devait propulser: un tel agrandissement nécessitait un arc de la vergue.

Cette courbure est souvent absente sur les modèles du Moyen Empire, mais il faut certainement y voir une volonté simplificatrice, puisque nous connaissons des modèles de vergues courbes du Moyen Empire provenant de Meir[19]. Cette courbure de la vergue s'observe tout au long du Nouvel Empire[20] et elle s'accompagne d'un accroissement considérable du nombre des balancines (cordages soutenant la vergue): alors que les deux vergues des bateaux de Deir el-Gebrâwi n'ont chacune que deux balancines, les navires de l'expédition de Pount représentés au temple funéraire d'Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari en ont six à la vergue supérieure et seize à la vergue inférieure; seule l'extension de la surface de voilure, exigeant des vergues de plus en plus longues, donc de plus en plus lourdes, permet d'expliquer cette augmentation du nombre des balancines. Ce phénomène, parfaitement logique, n'est pas propre à l'Egypte: à la fin du 19e s., les navires birmans de l'Irrawady étaient pourvus d'une vergue unique immense et courbe, dont le poids ne nécessitait pas moins de dix-huit balancines (fig. 15).

Les bateaux coptes, lorsqu'ils portaient une voile carrée, étaient les parfaits héritiers de leurs ancêtres pharaoniques: lorsque la vergue est unique, ce qui, en Egypte, suppose une voile relativement légère, six balancines pourront suffire pour soutenir la vergue courbe (fig. 16). Mais on trouve un exemple de vergue courbe à quatorze balancines, ce qui indique évidemment la présence d'une voile de très grande taille (fig. 17).

17. Landström, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-48.

18. Landström, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-54.

19. G.A. Reisner, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Models of Ships and Boats* (Le Caire, 1913), p. 59, n° 4890 et 4891, p. 60, n° 4892 et pl. 28.

20. Landström, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-106 et 122-127.

B. L'évolution.

Les navires d'Hatshepsout, qui représentent probablement le sommet technique de l'architecture navale pharaonique, nous présentent, chacun, deux vergues courbes et parallèles à la flottaison. F. Beaudoin a présenté une hypothèse, entièrement fondée à mon sens, d'après laquelle cette position des vergues était celle du repos, mais non celle de la navigation, qui, sous certaines allures, demandait l'inclinaison de l'ensemble du gréement (fig. 18)[21]. Cette hypothèse a été brillament confirmée par la découverte, par le Professeur M. Rodziewicz, d'une fresque d'époque romaine tardive dans une maison d'Alexandrie, représentant un navire à deux vergues inclinées (fig. 19). Cette forme de gréement va connaître une très longue fortune en Egypte, où elle est devenue typique du *nuggar* (fig. 20), aujourd'hui disparu. Il convient de noter qu'une seule représentation d'un gréement identique a été trouvée hors d'Egypte: un graffito découvert au cours des fouilles de Macalister à Gezer (fig. 21); la cabine centrale est caractéristique des bateaux égyptiens, et tout porte à croire à une découverte d'image de bateau égyptien en Palestine[22].

C. La rupture.

La voile du *nuggar* était le produit d'une évolution locale et sa forme était toujours cell d'un rectangle. La voile latine, triangulaire, finira par l'éclipser complètement. Au témoignage de Norden, elle seule, ou presque, propulse les bateaux du Nil au 18e s. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de débattre de l'épineuse question de l'origine de la voile latine, mais quelques faits doivent être notés:

— l'apparition, dans l'hypogée n° 2 d'Anfouchy, à Alexandrie, d'un petit bateau à voile latine, datant probablement du 2e ou du 1er s. av. J.-C. (fig. 22)[23];

— la présence, toujours à l'époque romaine tardive, à Alexandrie, ainsi qu'aux Kellia, au 7e s., de représentations de bâtiments à voile latine, également de petite taille (Alexandrie: fig. 23; Kellia: fig. 24);

— une peinture des Kellia, datant de 600-630, représentant, cette fois, un navire de mer de taille moyenne, également à voile latine (fig. 25)[24].

21. F. Beaudoin, "Une famille de voiles égyptiennes de l'Antiquité à nos jours", *L'Ethnographie,* N.S., 60-61, 1966-67, pp. 47-59.

22. R.A. Stewart Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (Londres, 1912), I, p. 371 et III, pl. CXIV, c. Ce graffito est malheureusement indatable. Trouvée dans la tombe n° 176, la pierre dans laquelle il est incisé porte, au verso, les lettres grecques ΓAN; il pourrait donc dater aussi bien de la période hellénistique que romaine ou byzantine.

23. L. Basch, "The way to the lateen sail", *The Mariner's Mirror,* 75, 1990, pp. 328-332.

24. Commentaire: L. Basch, "La felouque des Kellia", *Neptunia,* n° 183, 1991, pp. 2-10.

L'amiral et cartographe ottoman Pīr-i Re'īs présenta en 1526 à Soliman le Magnifique son "Traité de la Marine" (Kitāb-i Bahrīye), orné de nombreuses images de navires et de bateaux. Cet ouvrage comprend une vue du Nil à la hauteur du Caire, ville que Pīr-i Re'īs avait visitée plusieurs fois depuis 1517. Cette vue est extraordinairement instructive: elle comprend en effet un bateau au gréement purement pharaonique (fig. 26) et un groupe de trois bateaux dont deux portent un gréement latin et le troisième un gréement de *nuggar* (fig. 27). On constate ainsi qu'au cours du premier quart du 16e s., sur le Nil, le gréement latin, s'il était répandu, n'avait pas encore obtenu le quasi-monopole qui fut le sien au 18e s.

4. Les navires à rames

La première représentation copte d'une galère est celle, bien connue, provenant d'Akhmîm, datant du 4e s. et montrant deux *putti* embarqués (fig. 28). Cette galère a conservé l'un des attributs les plus caractéristiques du navire de guerre gréco-romain: la "caisse de rames"[25]. Il n'en est que plus remarquable que ce navire est dépourvu de ce qui fut l'attribut encore plus important de tout navire de guerre depuis au moins le 8e s. av. J.-C.: l'éperon; la coque est en effet arrondie aux deux extrémités. Il est probable que la "caisse de rames" n'était plus qu'une survivance purement picturale, mais il est étrange que cette "mémoire" ne s'est pas étendue à l'éperon[26].

Un oratoire d'Esna nous a laissé l'image d'une petite barque (fig. 29) aux extrémités très recourbées, guère différentes de celles de certaines barques pharaoniques[27]. De telles courbes ne se justifient pas par le désir de protéger le bateau de puissantes lames de mer; il s'agit manifestement d'une barque du Nil, et si rien n'indique qu'elle soit faite de papyrus, ses courbes indiquent probablement que, faite de bois, ses formes rappelent la barque de papyrus dont elle descend. Une peinture

25. Sur la "caisse de rames": L. Basch, "La 'caisse de rames' hellénistique et le relief n° 13533 du Musée de l'Acropole", *Cahiers d'Histoire, Navires et Commerces de la Méditerranée antique. Hommage à Jean Rougé,* pp. 291-301.

26. Incidemment, je ne puis souscrire à l'analyse de V. Chrsitides, qui identifie le "gouvernail" tenu par l'un des *putti* comme "the first primitive use of ... an axial stern-rudder" *(2nd International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies, Delphes, 1-6 juillet 1985, Programme,* p. 25). Il s'agit tout simplement du très classique aviron de gouverne latéral, ici l'aviron latéral tribord. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que les deux avirons ne devaient pas nécessairement être représentés, le navire antique pouvant n'utiliser qu'un seul aviron latéral, l'autre étant relevé *(MIMA,* p. 378, n° 45 et p. 469, fig. 1051).

27. P. ex. Landström, *op. cit.,* p. 110, fig. 340.

des Kellia nous montre une barque à rames dont la proue manque (fig. 30) et dont la poupe présente une courbe analogue à celle de la barque précédente. Le fait que la pale est bien distincte du manche de la rame est un signe distinctif de la rame maniée par un seul rameur: il s'agit donc vraisemblablement d'une petite embarcation.

Paradoxalement, c'est une peinture extrêmement grossière de la "Maison des Bateaux" (qui nous a fourni les représentations des fig. 1, 16, 17, 35, 36 et 38) qui nous renseigne le mieux sur une importante transformation (fig. 31): la poupe est aisément reconnaissable à sa courbure, et rien n'est plus normal si on la compare aux deux représentations précédentes; c'est la proue, dépourvue tant de courbe que d'éperon, qui introduit un élément nouveau: une telle silhouette de proue est déjà, très schématiquement esquissée, celle des galères "modernes".

5. Les ornements.

Une peinture des Kellia nous montre avec beaucoup de détails un navire de charge vu de profil (fig. 32), dont plusieurs caractéristiques sont fort intéressantes, notamment la différence, justement observée et rendue, des courbes de l'avant et de l'arrière: à l'avant massif s'oppose un arrière très relevé (on notera la différence avec le schématisme du "navire au lion" (fig. 1)). On peut donc être certain de l'existence de l'espèce de draperie suspendue à la poupe. Une draperie suspendue à la *proue* est une très vénérable tradition égyptienne, puisqu'on la voit sur une étiquette d'ébène du pharaon Aha- Menes, premier roi de la lère dynastie (fig. 33) et qu'on retrouvera, avec une belle continuité, jusqu'à l'époque pharaonique tardive[28]. La draperie copte n'est donc nullement surprenante, seul son transfert à la poupe fait problème. Il n'est pas interdit de croire à une influence venue du monde grec (draperie de poupe sur les chars de procession dionysiaque à Athènes au 6e s.[29]) ou romaine (modèle du Musée de Sparte, 1er s. avant ou 1er s. après J.-C.[30]). Il est d'autant moins interdit de croire à une influence gréco-romaine que la draperie de poupe s'observe déjà sur la galère d'Akhmîm (fig. 28).

Cette draperie ornant la poupe se retrouvera dans le monde byzantin:

28. Au sujet de la "draperie de proue" pharaonique: E. Thomas, "Terrestrial Marsh and Solar Mat", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* 1959, pp. 38-51.

29. *MIMA,* p. 228.

30. *MIMA,* p. 434.

on la voit sur des navires figurés sur des mosaïques de la basilique Saint-Marc à Venise, du 12e s.[31] et sur des navires parents des précédents dans les *Cantigas* d'Alphonse X le Sage (1284)[32] — et on la voit encore à Constantinople même au début du 19e s. (fig. 34).

On voit qu'ici la draperie n'est nullement un élément de rupture, mais bien au contraire, un chaînon dans une tradition plusieurs fois centenaire.

Il n'est évidemment pas surprenant de voir surgir des croix tant aux sommets des mâts qu'aux bouts des vergues (fig. 35, 36, 37). Représentations pieuses ou réalité? Au point de vue technique, rien ne s'opposait à ce que le mât se termine par une croix; par contre, des croix aussi fragiles, en bout de vergue, que celles de la fig. 37 me paraissent relever de l'imagerie pieuse et non de la réalité. Plus singulière est la présence, sur plusieurs bateaux coptes (fig. 7, 13, 35 et 38) d'un petit "panneau" au sommet de la poupe. S'agirait-il d'un emblème, comme les "enseignes" portées au bout d'une perche sur les barques peintes auc flancs des vases de la periode dite "Nagada II" (3500-3100 av. J.-C.), ou d'une protection apotropaïque? Ces panneaux sont pratiquement indéchiffrables[33] et les signes qu'on y voit ne permettent pas de répondre à cette question. Ils sont cependant très caractéristiques de cette époque, puisqu'on ne les retrouve dans aucune autre marine, et ils permettent d'identifier, en cas de nouvelles découvertes isolées, une représentation de bateau copte.

6. La rupture complète: formes de coque.

Les formes de coques coptes sont très diverses, mais en général arrondies. Certaines d'entre elles, cependant, sont pourvues d'extrémités verticales et symétriques:

— la "felouque" à voile latine de la fig. 25;

— la plupart des navires formant une procession sur un très grand graffito d'époque chrétienne du temple de Khonsou, à Karnak (fig. 39)[34]?

31. B. Landström, *The Ship,* (Londres, 1961), p. 82, fig. 213.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 83, fig. 219.

33. Sur le panneau de la fig. 7, on songerait, peut-être, à une survivance des cornes d'Hathor, qui n'enserraient pas toujours un seul disque solaire, mais parfois les *deux* disques solaires surmontant les *uraei* (p. ex.: M. Werbrouck, *Le temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* (Bruxelles, 1949), pl. XLII, XLIII).

34. J'avais cru, de bonne foi, être le premier à signaler l'existence de ce groupe de graffiti, au sujet desquels j'avouais ma perplexité dans: "Le navire *mnš* et autres notes de voyage en Egypte", *The Mariner's Mirror,* 64, 1978, pp. 99-123. J'ignorais l'existence de l'article

Une telle forme est inconnue dans le monde méditerranéen antique, ainsi que dans l'architecture navale pharaonique, qui connaît soit des bateaux à fond plat (sous l'Ancien Empire) soit, surtout, des bateaux à coque en forme de cueiller.

Une rapture aussi profonde, dans un domaine aussi essentiel de celui des formes de coque, ne peut que difficilement être expliquée par une évolution locale; on est tenté de songer à une influence extérieure, mais le monde méditerranéen n'offre aucune forme semblable; quant à la mer Rouge, nous ignorons l'aspect des navires qui fréquentaient ses eaux au cours du premier millénaire, mais lorsque nous voyons apparaître les premiers navires arabes sur les *Maqamat* de al Hariri, au 13e s.[35], nous observons une étrave et un étambot également inclinés, mais obliques, et non verticaux. Il est vrai que tel est aussi le cas d'un navire de la chapelle de St. Jonas d'El Bagawat (Kargeh), du 5e s. (fig. 40), mais un rapprochement avec les navires des *Maqamat,* postérieurs de huit siècles, me semblerait fort téméraire. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de relever que cette apparition d'extrémités verticales n'est pas la première en Egypte. Alors qu'il est indéniable qu'une partie des bateaux aperçus dans l'iconographie prédynastique et thinite dérive de barques de papyrus tandis que l'autre partie est d'emblée une architecture faite de bois[36], dans les deux cas, les extrémités sont, en général, basses. On n'en est que plus surpris de trouver sur un vase d'Abydos datant de la première dynastie un navire incisé (à deux reprises) dont les deux extrémités sont verticales (fig. 41). Les théories selon lesquelles un tel bâtiment – et quelques autres, plus ou moins apparentés – auraient traduit une influence de l'architecture navale mésopotamienne ne reflétent que la méconnaissance de celle-ci. Il vaut mieux, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, avouer notre ignorance quant aux causes de ces modifications brutales et – il convient de noter aussi ce phénomène – non destinées à durer, ceci tant pour l'époque copte que pour l'époque thinite.

X

On voit, au terme de cette brève synthèse des apports de

mentionné dans la légende de la fig. 39: je remercie Madame Rassart-Debergh de m'en avoir signalé l'existence.

35. Au sujet de l'iconographie des premiers navires arabes, l'article de référence est celui de D. Nicolle, "Shipping in Islamic Art: Seventh through Sixteenth Century A D", *The American Neptune,* XLIX, 1989, pp. 168-189. Les navires des *Maqamat* y figurent sous les n° 23 et 24 a.

36. *MIMA,* p. 58, fig. 94 et 95.

l'iconographie copte, qu'ils posent autant de problèmes qu'ils en résolvent. C'est là ce qui caractérise les découvertes réellement importantes, ici celle d'une marine copte, connue par les textes seulement, dont l'aspect nous échappait complètement il y a peu de temps encore et qui nous révèle autant de vitalité que d'originalité.

LUCIEN BASCH

Notes liminaires

1. Je tiens à remercier tout particulièrement Madame Marguerite Rassart-Debergh pour son inlassable assistance dans la recherche de documents et d'orientations bibliographiques. Sans l'aimable autorisation de reproduction de documents de la Mission suisse d'archéologie copte de l'Université de Genève, cette communication n'aurait pas été possible: que M. Rodolphe Kasser, directeur de la Mission veuille bien trouver ici l'expression de ma gratitude. Ma reconnaissance va aussi à M. le Professeur M. Rodziewicz, non seulement pour m'avoir autorisé à faire usage de ses travaux, mais aussi pour son généreux accueil lorsqu'il m'arrive de séjourner à Alexandrie.

2. En raison de la longueur de la plupart des légendes des illustrations, celles-ci sont groupées à la fin du texte.

LEGENDES DES ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Le "navire au lion". Cette peinture provient d'un édifice des Kellia, le "bâtiment 57,72/18,74 (Qouçour Isâ 6)", appelé "la Maison des Bateaux", en raison du grand nombre de représentations de bateaux qu'il a livrées. Cet édifice a fait l'objet d'une étude particulière de S. Favre incluse dans: R. Kasser, *op. cit.* note 4 (p. 131 et suiv.), ouvrage où le "navire au lion" est représenté p. 141, fig. 156. Pour la datation de la "Maison des Bateaux", cf. note 4.

Fig. 2. Graffito de Sidi Khrebish, entre 50 et 150 de notre ère (cf. note 7). Dessin de l'auteur.

Fig. 3. Mosaïque de Tabarka (l'ancienne *Thabraca),* 5s s., d'après le *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines,* de C. Daremberg, E. Saglio et E. Pottier, III, fig. 3882.

Fig. 4. Graffito de Corinthe, 5e ou 6e s. Dessin de l'auteur (cf. note 13).

Fig. 5. Dahabieh du XIXe s., d'après *The Graphic,* 22, 1880, p. 601.

Fig. 6. "Dahabieh" des Kellia, 2e quart du 7e s., d'après R. Kasser, *op. cit.* note 4, p. 245 et pl. CLXXVIII, 87.

Fig. 7. "Dahabieh" d'un oratoire d'Esna (6e ou 7e s.) d'après S. Sauneron et J. Jacquet, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna,* I, *Archéologie et Inscriptions, Fouilles de l'I.F.A.O. du Caire,* XXIX, 1972 (Le Caire), p. 78, fig. 50.

Fig. 8, 9, 10 et 11. "Dahabiehs" coptes, probablement du 7e s., d'après A. Piankoff, "The Osireion of Seti at Abydos during the Greco-Roman period and the Christian occupation", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte,* XV, 1958-1960, pp. 138 à 140 (fig. 2, 3, 4, 6). P. Červiček, dans *Felsbilder des Nord Etbai, Oberägyptens und Unternubiens (16. Band der Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen)* donne (respectivement fig. 52 et 55) une version légèrement différente des fig. 11 et 10.

Fig. 12. "Dahabieh" copte de Baouît, d'après J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît, Mémoires de l'I.F.A.O.,* 39, 1916, p. 22, fig. 11.

Fig. 13. "Dahabieh" copte; gravure rupestre d'Assouan, d'après P. Červiček, *op. cit.* (légende des fig. 8 à 11), fig. 66. A. Köster a écrit que ce document datait de la fin du 4e millénaire *(Der Erdball,* 10, 1931, p. 422), ce qui est évidemment absurde, mais s'explique par l'ignorance totale, à l'époque, d'une spécificité de la batellerie copte.

Fig. 14. Scène de navigation de la tombe de Djâou à Deir el-Gebrâwi, VIe dynastie. D'après N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi* (Londres, 1902), pl. VII.

Fig. 15. Bateau birman de l'Irrawady. Photo de M. Caillaud, Commandant aux Messageries Maritimes, *Le Yacht,* 1898, p. 595.

Fig. 16. Bateau de la "Maison des Bateaux" (cf. légende de la fig. 1), p. 141, fig. 157.

Fig. 17. Bateau de la "Maison des Bateaux", *ibid.*

Fig. 18. Manoeuvre de la voile d'un navire de l'expédition de Pount, d'après: F. Beaudouin, "Une famille de voiles égyptiennes de l'Antiquité à nos jours", *L'Ethnographie,* N.S. 60-61, 1966-67, p. 53, fig. 4. 1: amure; 2: écoute; 3: hauban volant.

Fig. 19. Peinture d'époque romaine tardive (probablement fin du 6e s.) dans une maison d'Alexandrie. D'après M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie,* III, *Les habitations tardives d'Alexandrie à la lumière des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka,* p. 224, fig. 252.

Fig. 20. A. Deux nuggars à Dongola, d'après *The Illustrated London News,* 1896, 2, p. 245.

B. Nuggar, d'après H. Warington Smyth, *Mast and Sail in Europe and Asia* (Edimbourg-Londres, 1929), p. 341.

Fig. 21. Graffito de Gezer. Voir note 22.

Fig. 22. *Dipinto* d'un petit bâtiment à voile latine de l'hypogée n° 2 d'Anfouchy (Alexandrie). Probablement 2e ou 1er s. av. J.-C. Photo de l'auteur.

Fig. 23. *Dipinto* d'un petit bâtiment à voile latine sur le mur d'une maison d'époque romaine tardive (probablement fin du 6e s.), d'après M. Rodziewicz, *op. cit.* (légende de la fig. 19), p. 221, fig. 250.

Fig. 24. Petit bâtiment à voile latine. Peinture des Kellia, d'après: R. Kasser, *op. cit.* note 4, p. 75, fig. 21.

Fig. 25. "Felouque" des Kellia, d'après: R. Kasser, *op. cit.* note 4, pl. CLXXVIII et CLXXXVII.

Fig. 26 et 27. Bateaux sur le Nil à la hauteur du Caire, d'après la reproduction à Istanbul (1935) du Kitab-i bahriye (1526) de Pīr-i Re-īs.

Fig. 28. La galère aux *putti.* Tissu du début du 4e s. ap. J.-C., Akhmîm. British Museum. Photo de l'auteur.

Fig. 29. Barque à rames d'un oratoire d'Esna. D'après S. Sauneron et J. Jacquet, *op. cit.* (légende de la fig. 7), p. 78, fig. 50.

Fig. 30. Barque à rames des Kellia, 2e quart du 7e s. D'après: R. Kasser, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 312 et pl. CLXXIX, 144.

Fig. 31. Galère de la "Maison des Bateaux" (cf. légende de la fig. 1), d'après: R. Kasser, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 142, fig. 158.

Fig. 32. Grand bateau de charge. Kellia, 2e qaurt du 7e s. D'après: R. Kasser, *op. cit.,* p. 312 et pl. CLXXIX, 5.

Fig. 33. Etiquette en ébène de Aha-Menès, d'après E. Thomas, *art. cit.* note 28 (p. 39, fig. 55).

Fig. 34. Bateaux à Constantinople, d'après: *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor illustrated. In a series of drawings from nature by Thomas Allom with a historical account of Constantinople, and description of the plates by the Rev. Robert Walsh, L. L. D., Chaplain to the British Embassy of the Ottoman Porte. First Series.* Londres, sans date – mais, d'après le catalogue de la British Library, probablement 1839. Le navire porteur de la draperie de poupe est le deuxième à partir de la gauche.

Fig. 35 et 36. Navires de la "Maison des Bateaux" (cf. légende de la fig. 1), d'après: R. Kasser, *op. cit.,* p. 140, fig. 155 et p. 142, fig. 159.

Fig. 37. Peinture du monastère de Saint-Jérémie, Saqqarah, probablement du 7e s. D'après: J.E. Quibbel, *Excavations at Saqquara 1907-1908 (Saqqara,* III, Londres 1909), p. 13, fig. 3.

Fig. 38. Navire de la "Maison des Bateaux" (cf. légende de la fig. 1). D'après: R. Kasser, *op. cit.,* p. 142, fig. 158.

Fig. 39. Procession de navires d'époque chrétienne. Graffito dans l'escalier oriental du temple de Khonsou, à Karnak. D'après: H. Munier et M. Pillet, "Les édifices chrétiens de Karnak", *Revue de l'Egypte Ancienne,* II, 1928, p. 63, fig. 3.

Fig. 40. Bateau de la chapelle de St. Jonas d'el-Bagawat (Kargeh), 5e s. Dessin de l'auteur.

Fig. 41. Bateau incisé dans un bol de la 1ère dynastie (vers 3000 av. J.-C.), d'après: W.F. Petrie, *Abydos,* II, pl. XII, 266.

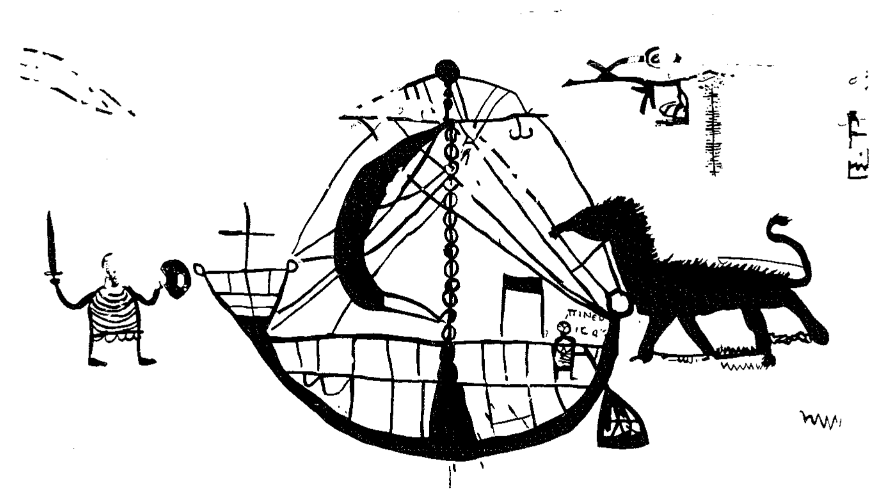


Fig. 1

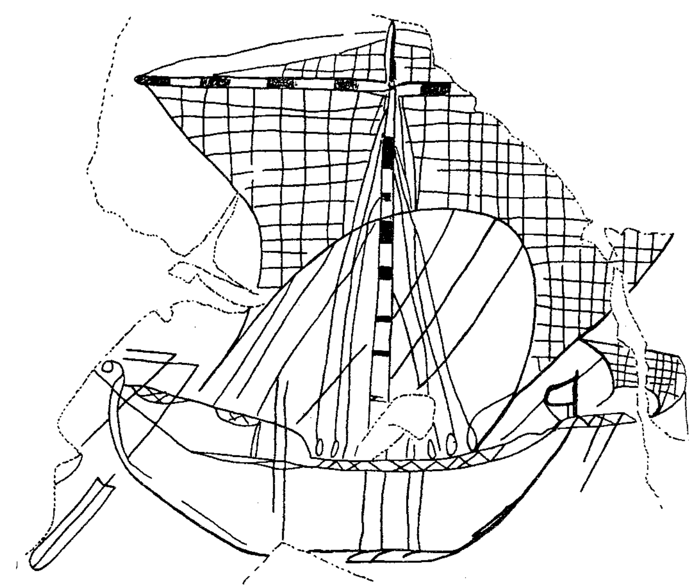


Fig. 2

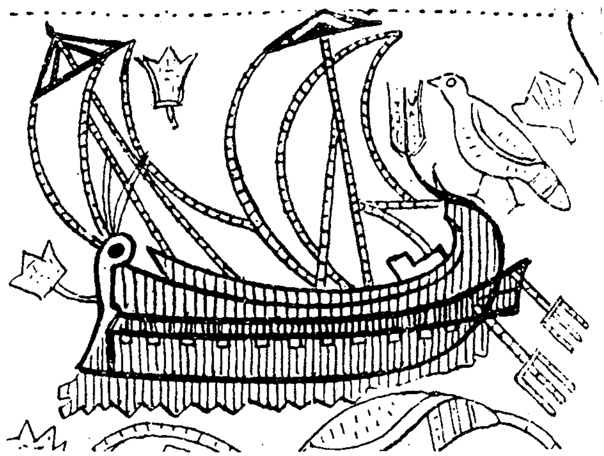


Fig. 3

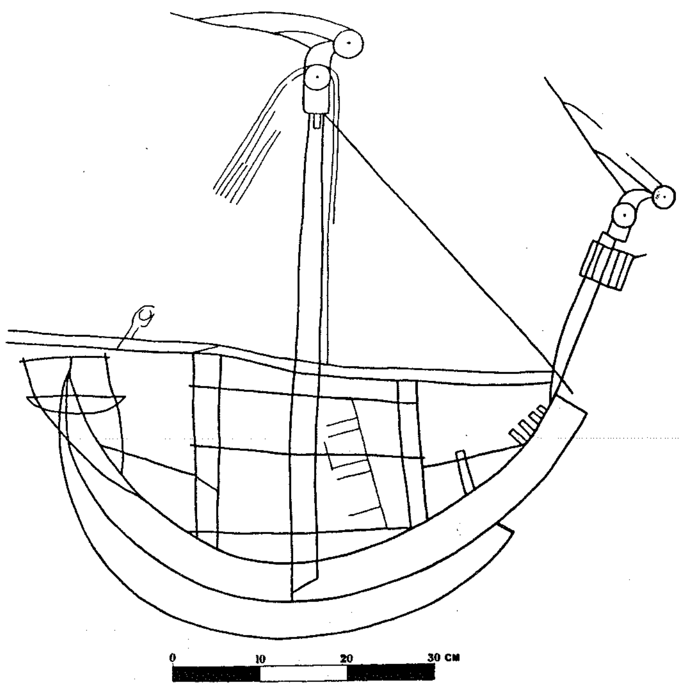


Fig. 4

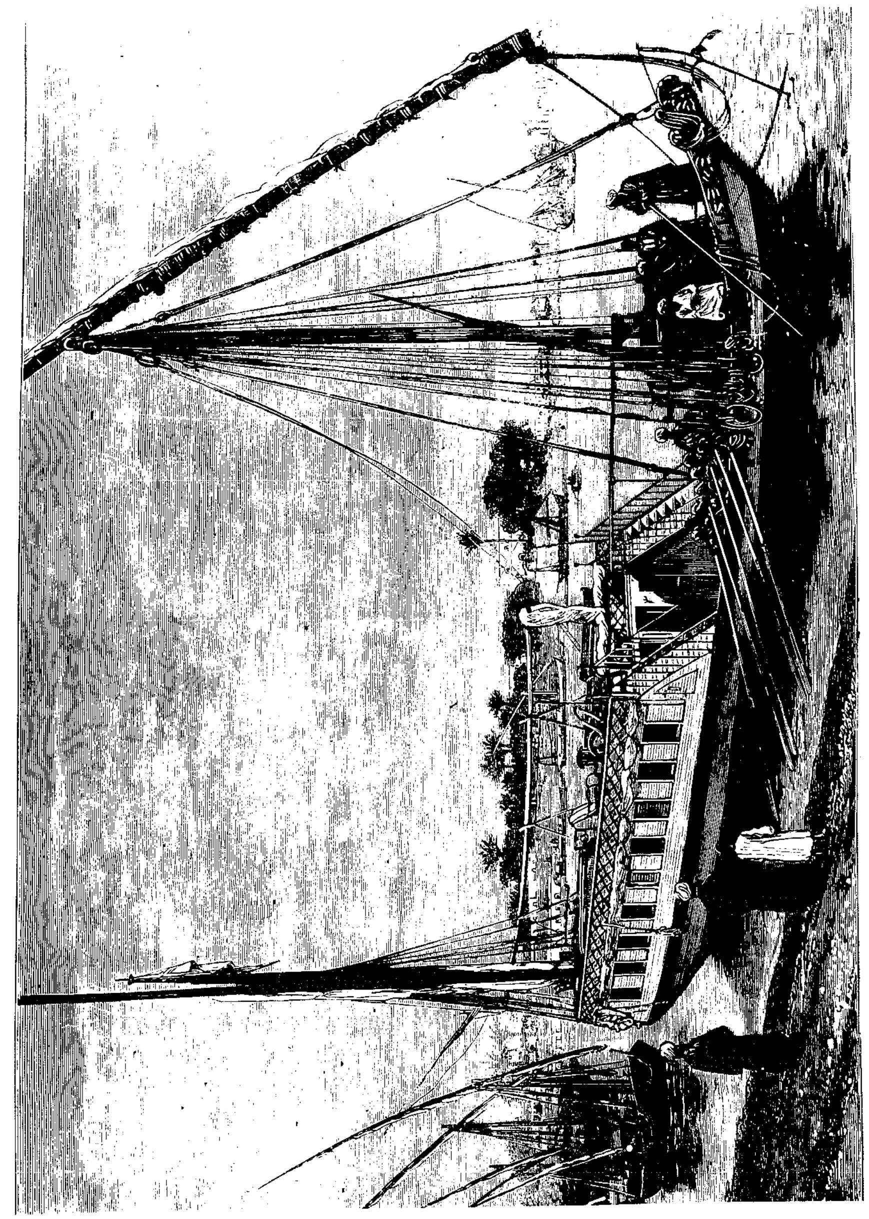


Fig. 5

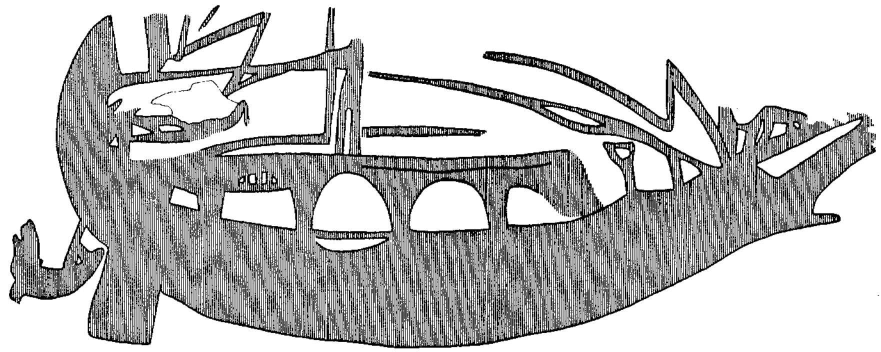


Fig. 6

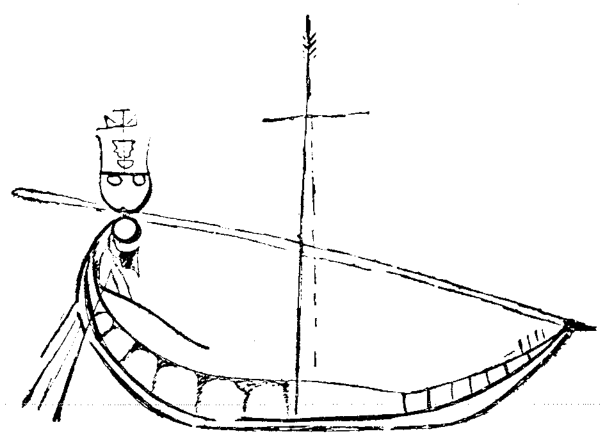


Fig. 7

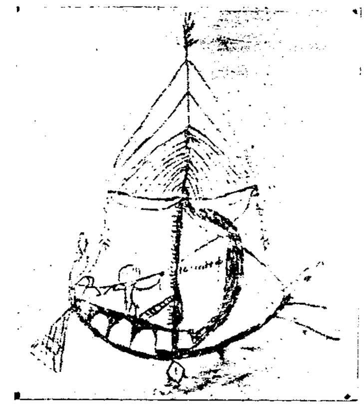


Fig. 8

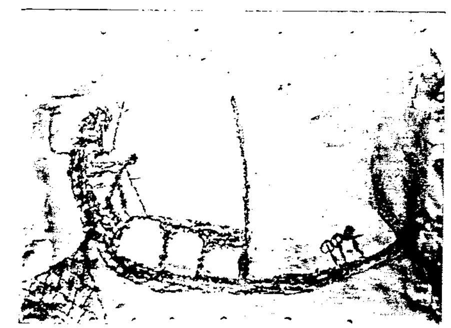


Fig. 9

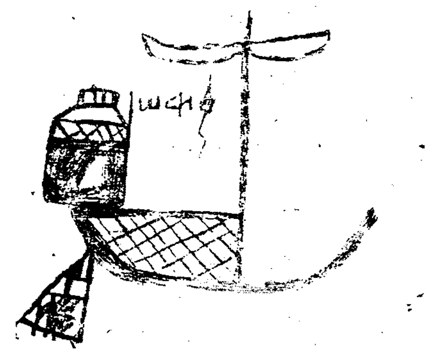


Fig. 10

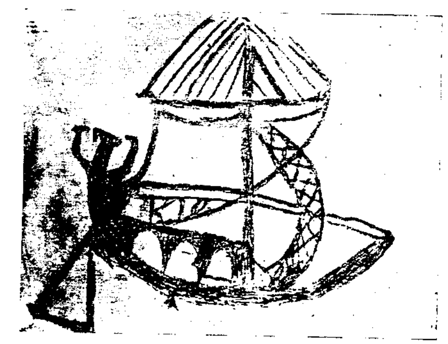


Fig. 11

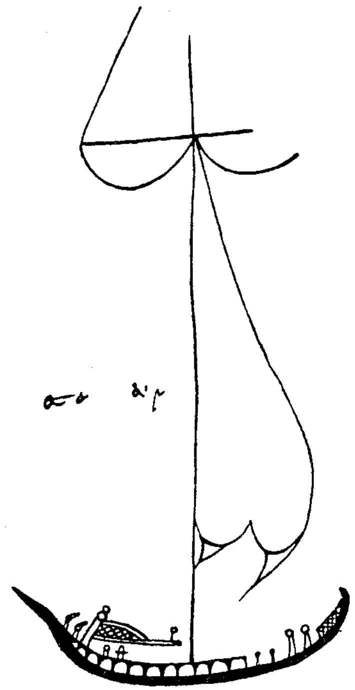


Fig. 12

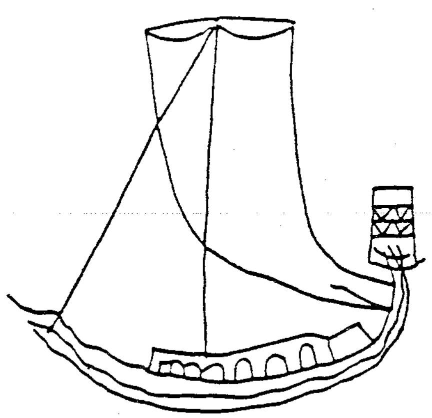


Fig. 13

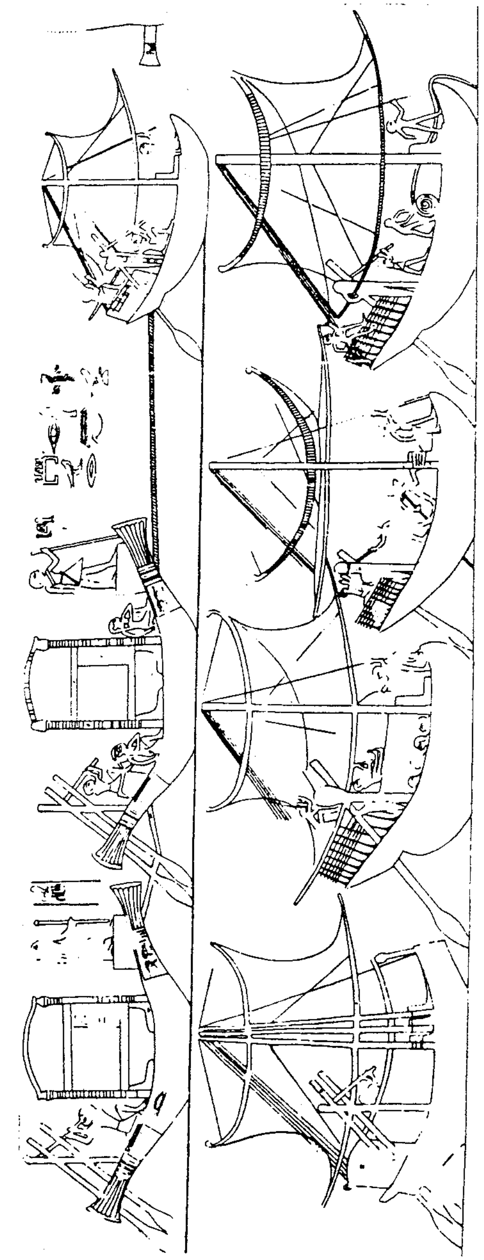


Fig. 14

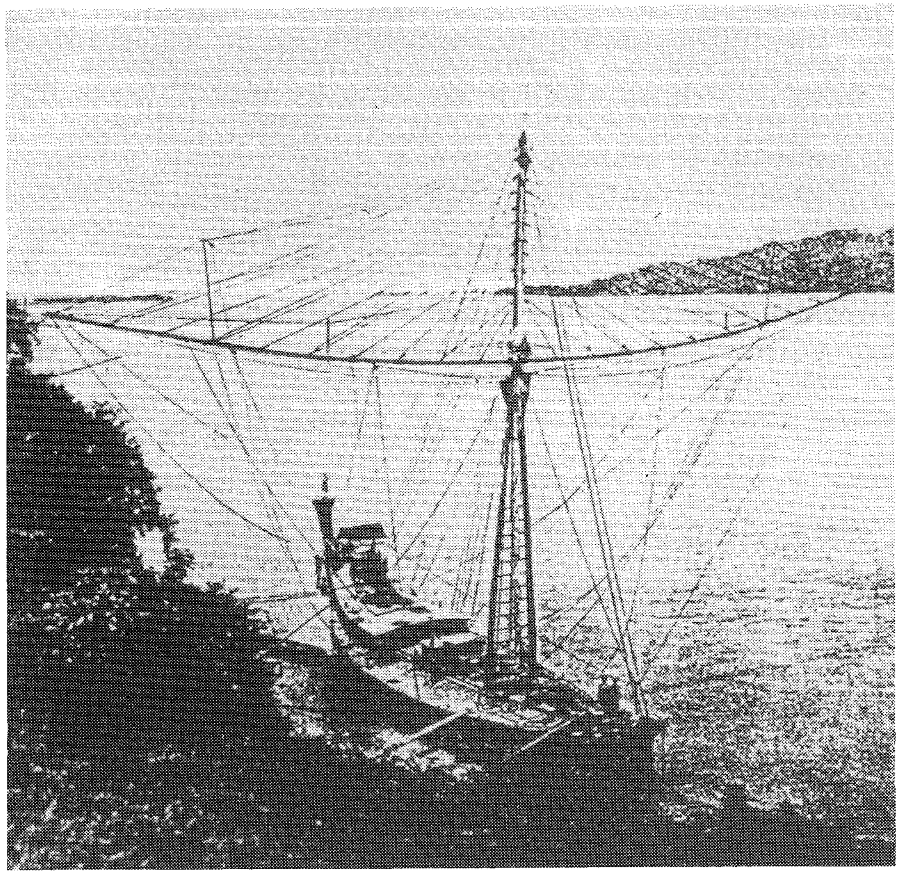


Fig. 15

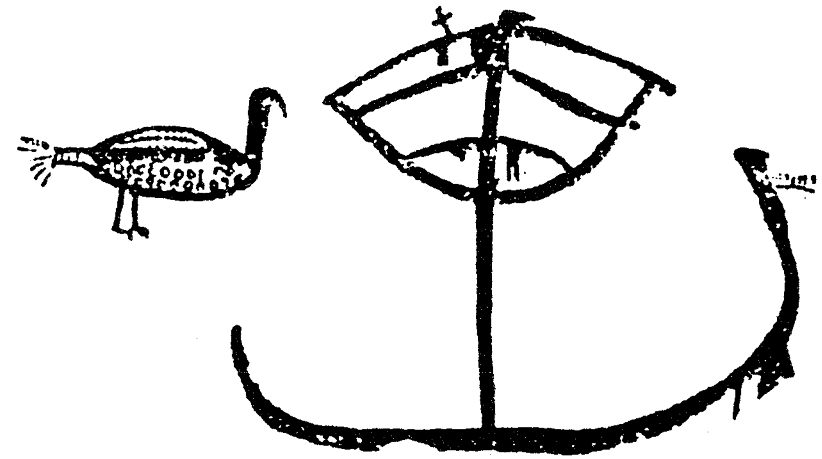


Fig. 16

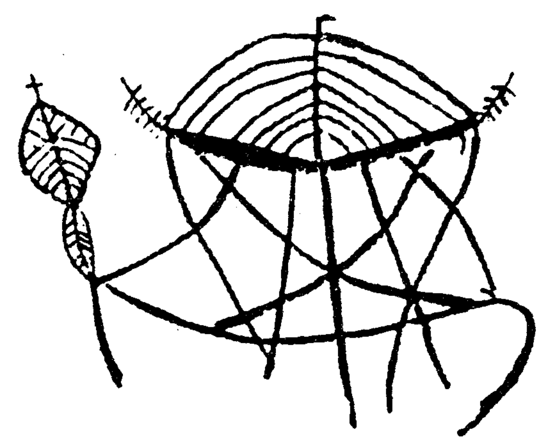


Fig. 17

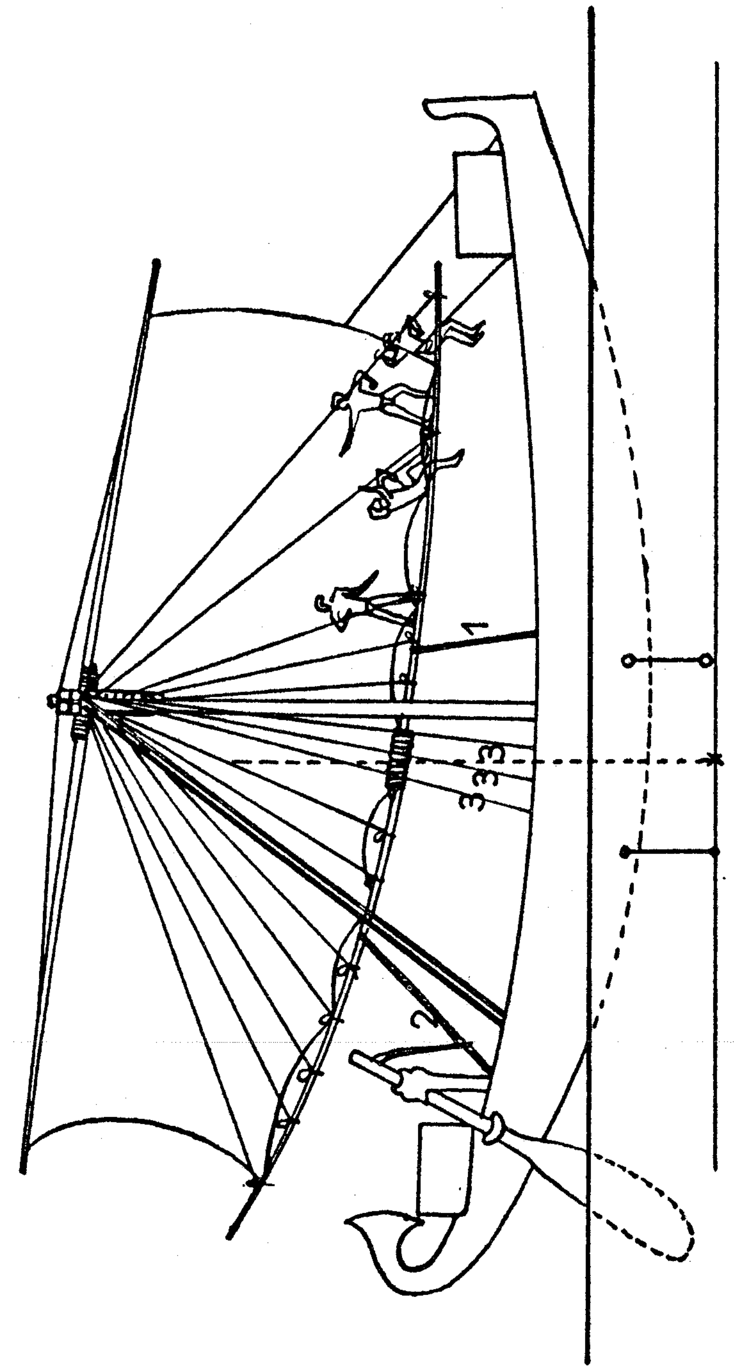


Fig. 18

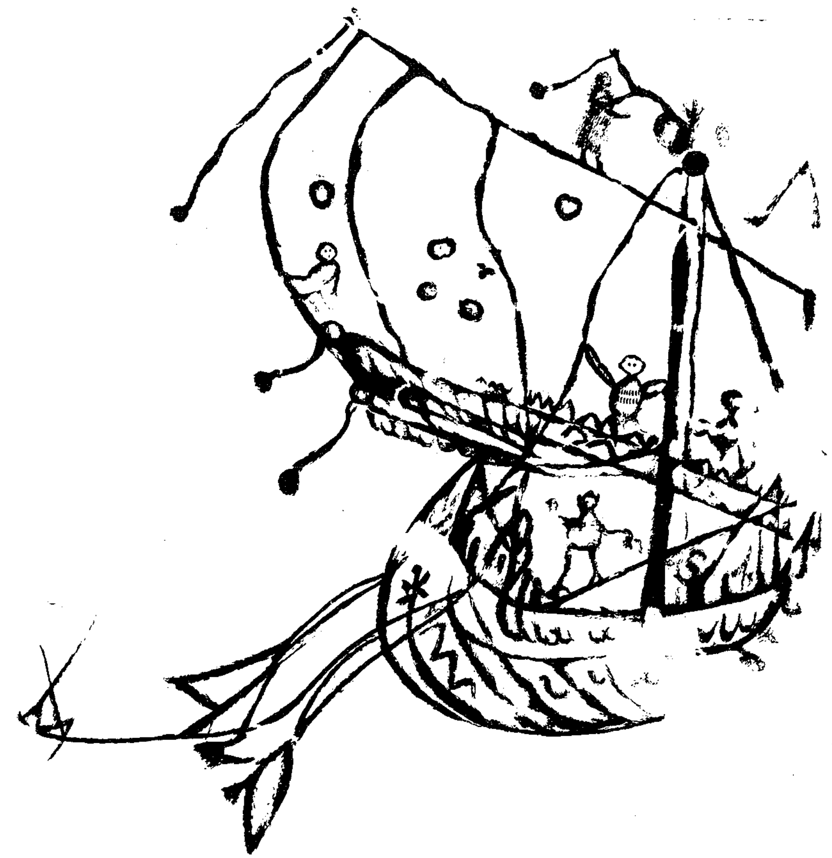


Fig. 19

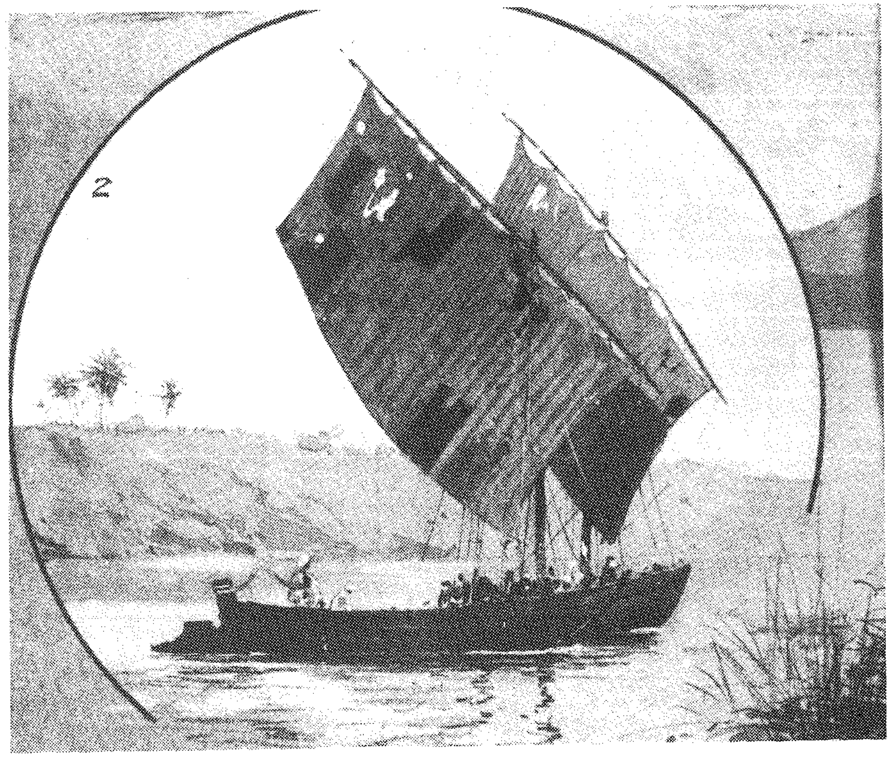


Fig. 20A

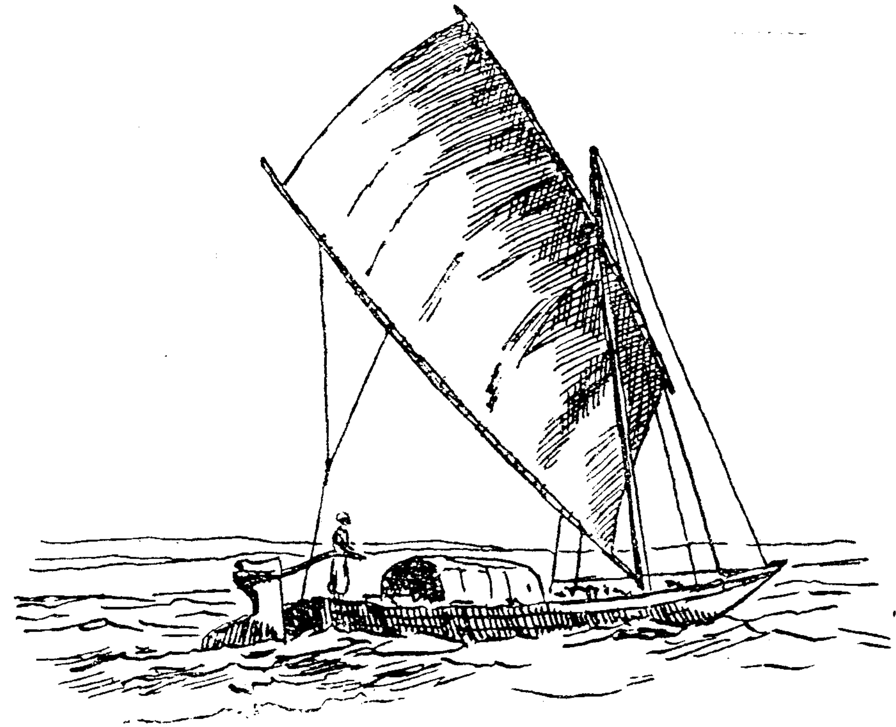


Fig. 20B

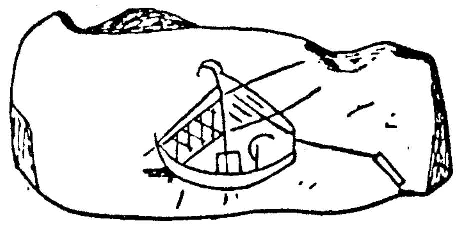


Fig. 21

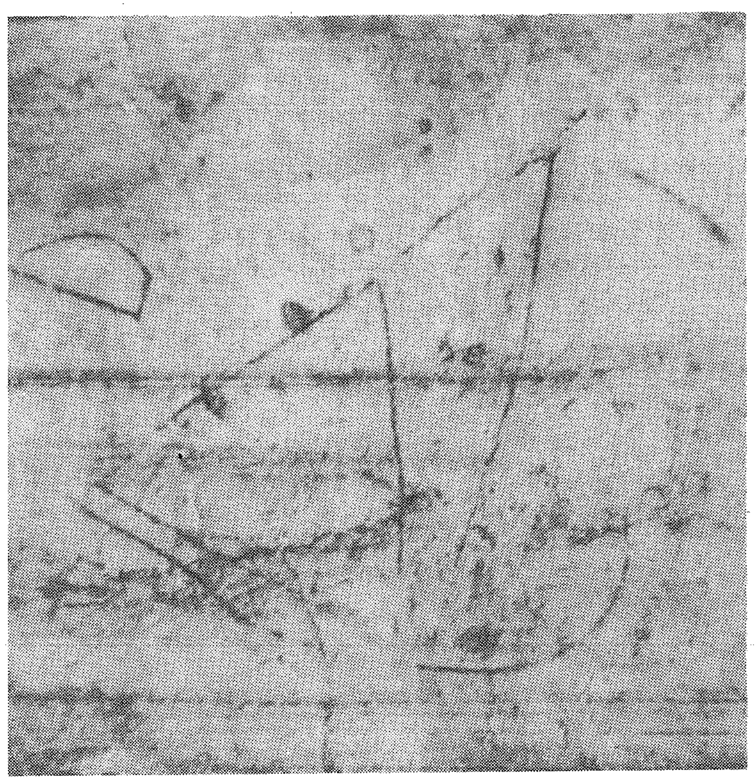


Fig. 22

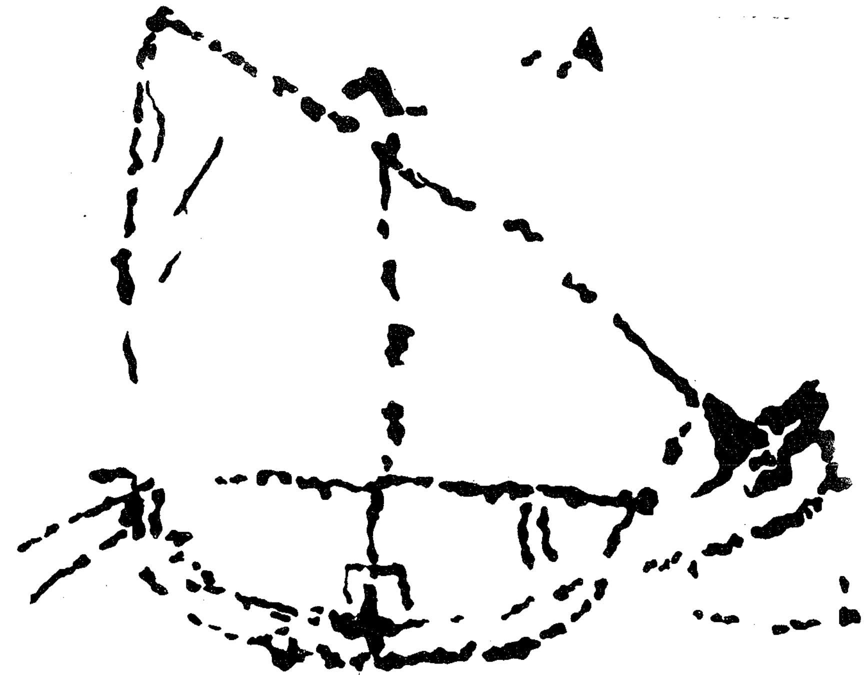


Fig. 23

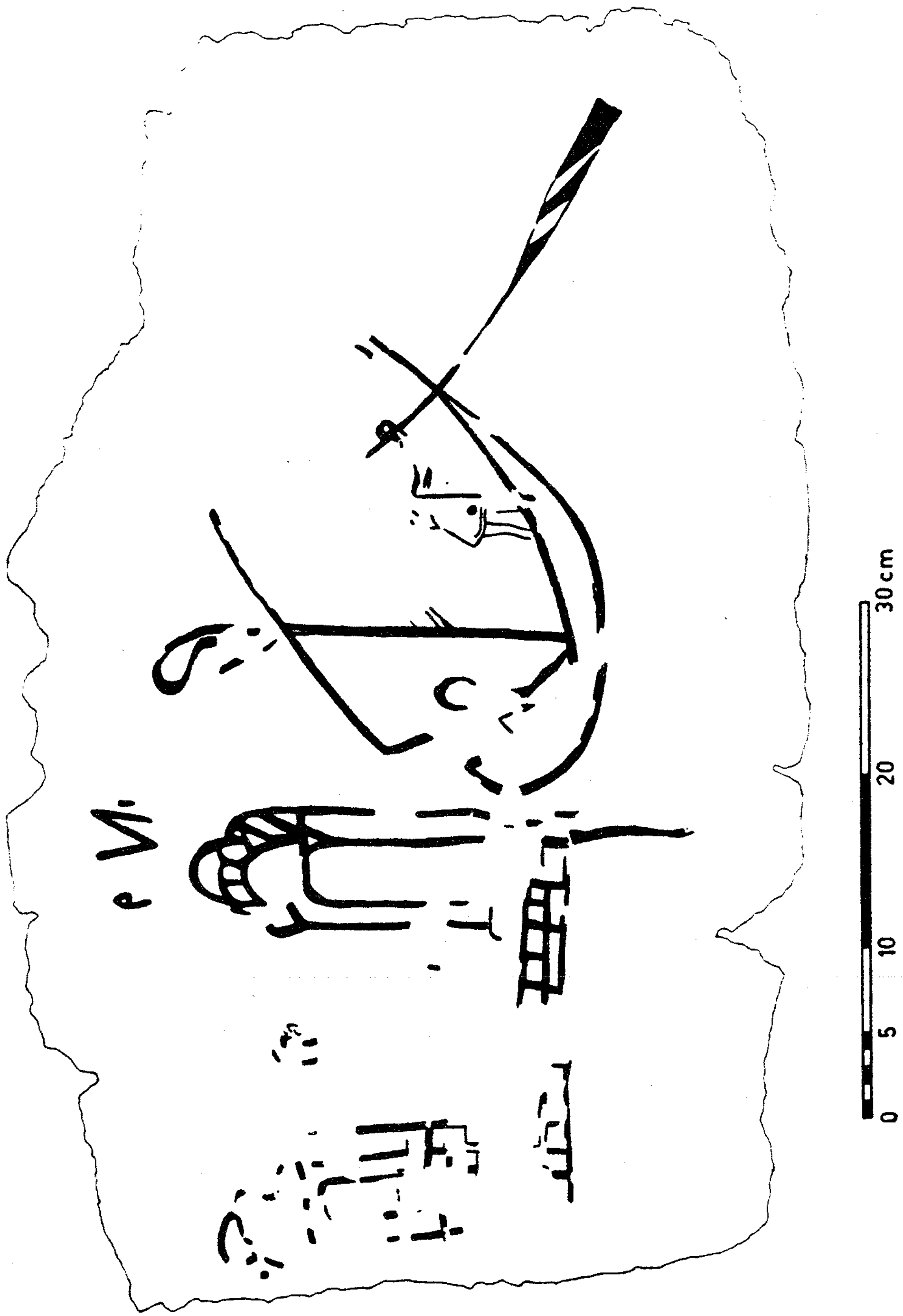


Fig. 24

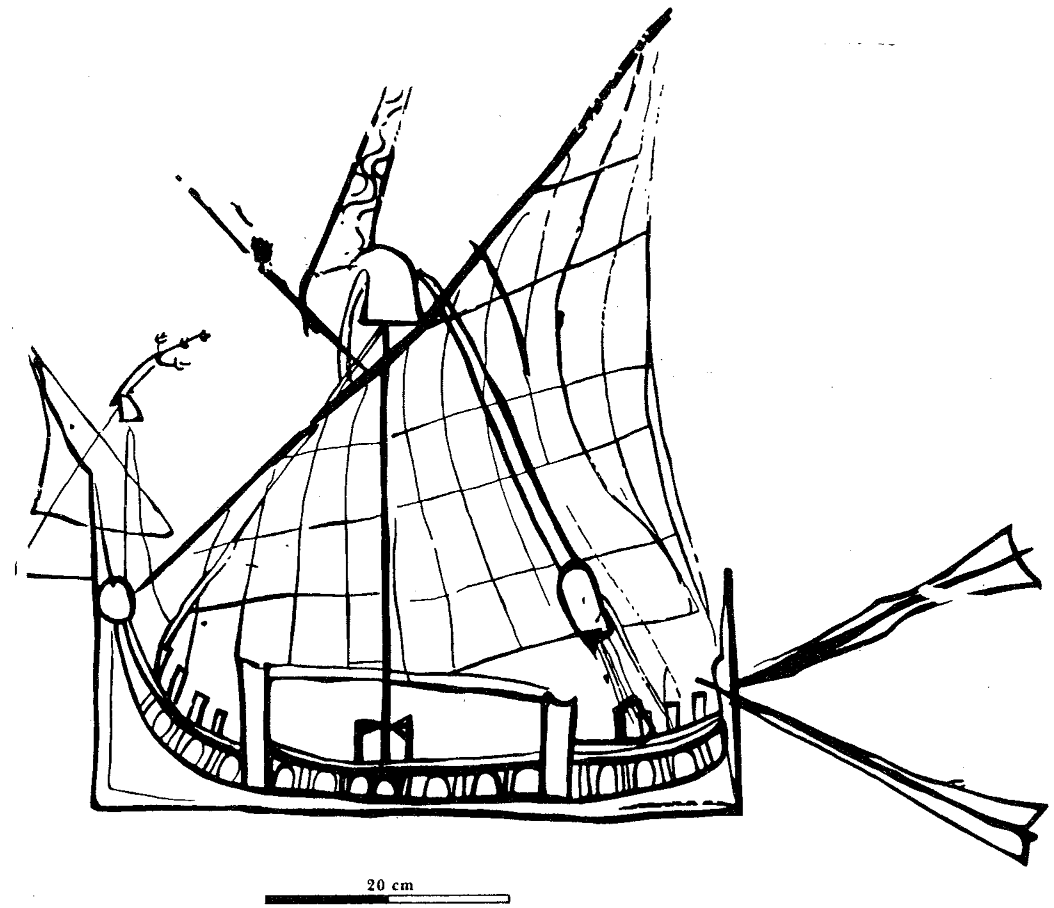


Fig. 25

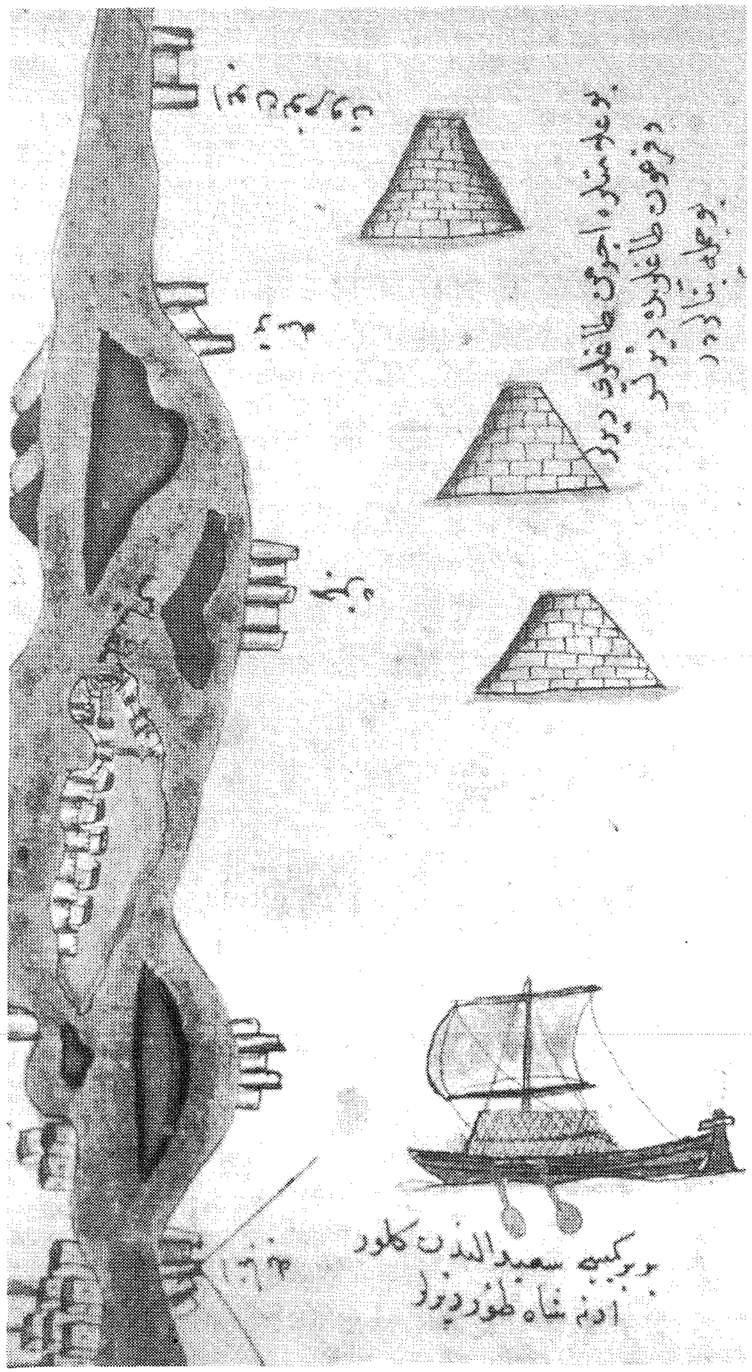


Fig. 26

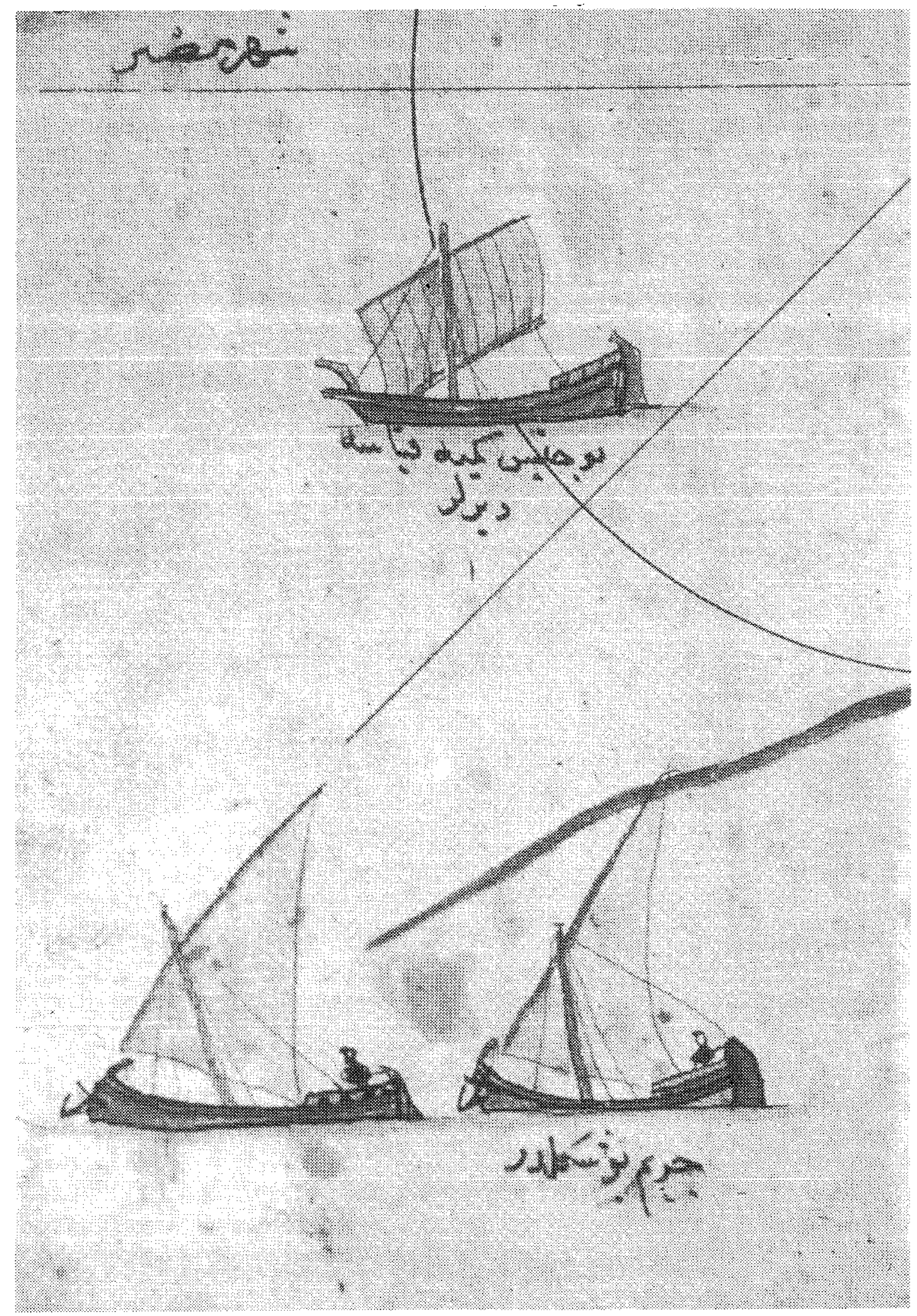


Fig. 27

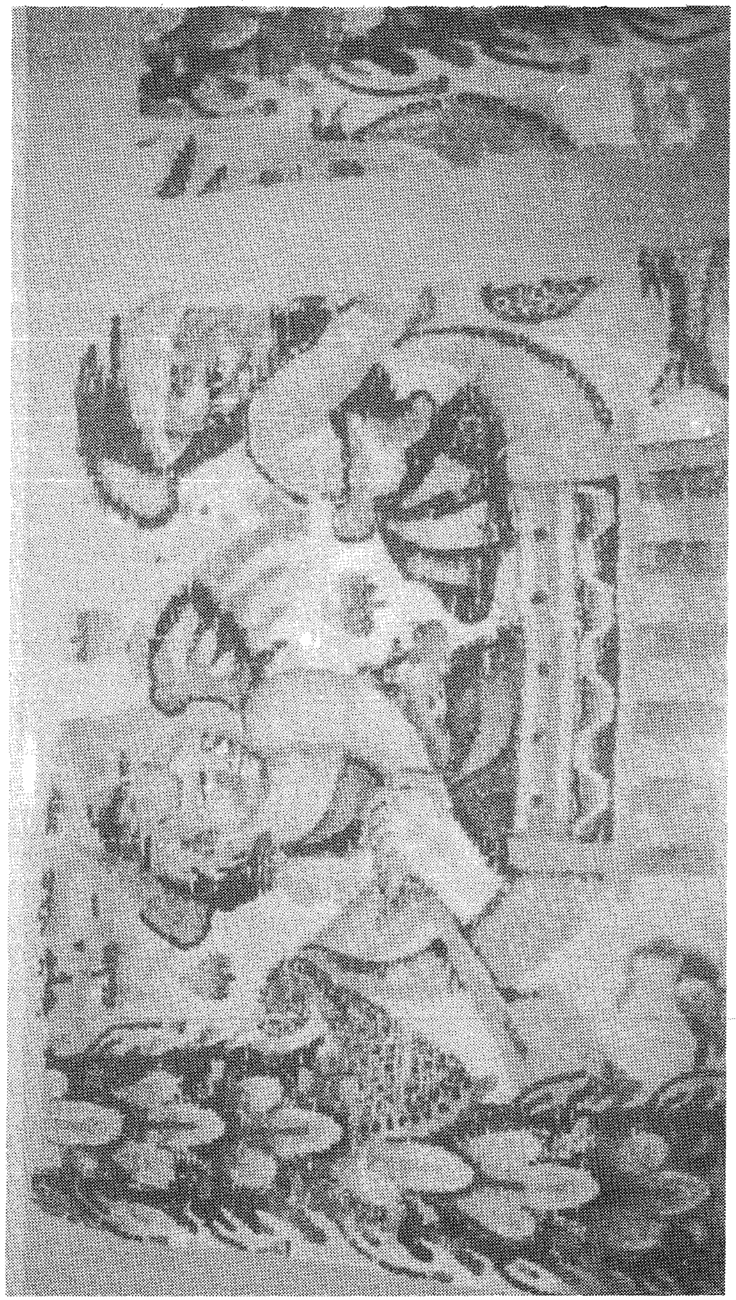


Fig. 28

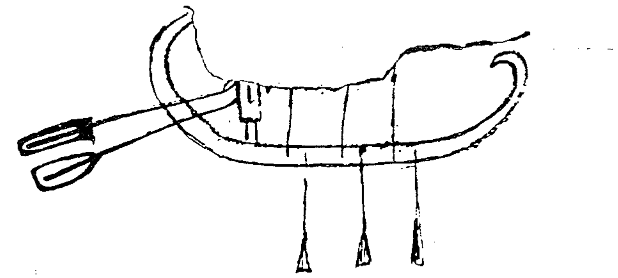


Fig. 29

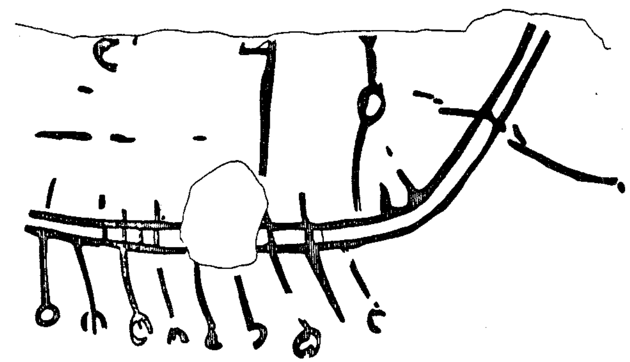


Fig. 30

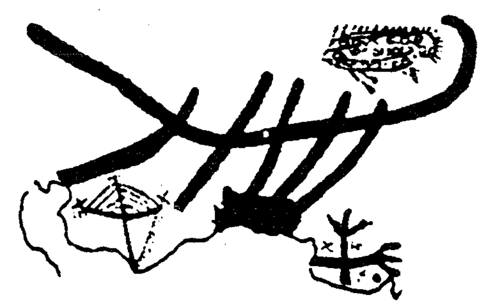


Fig. 31

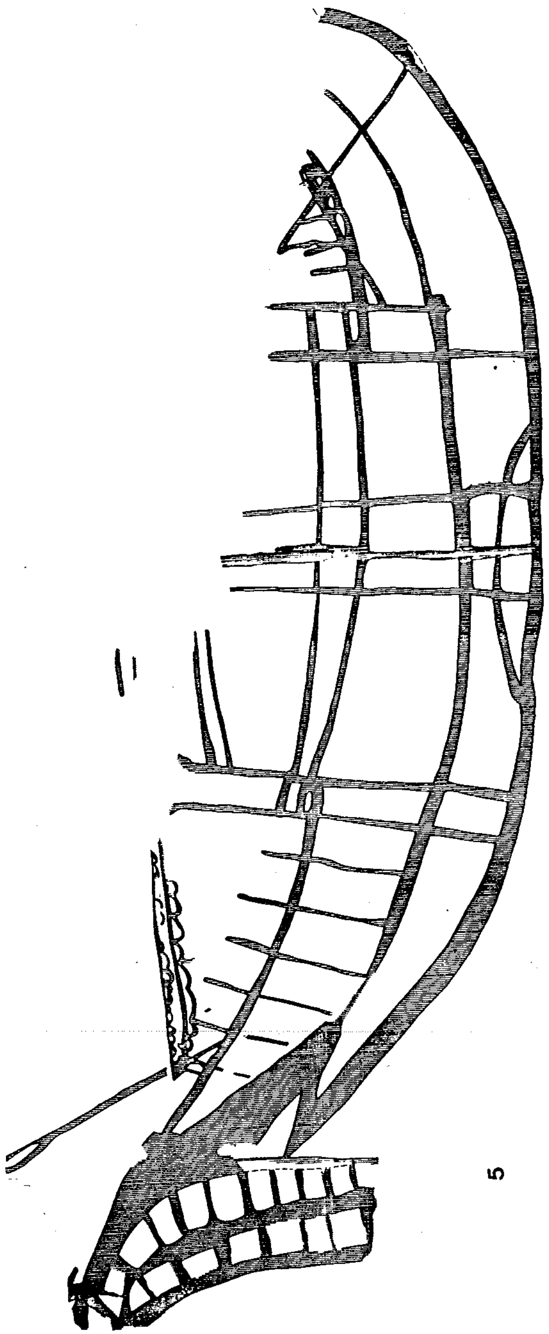


Fig. 32

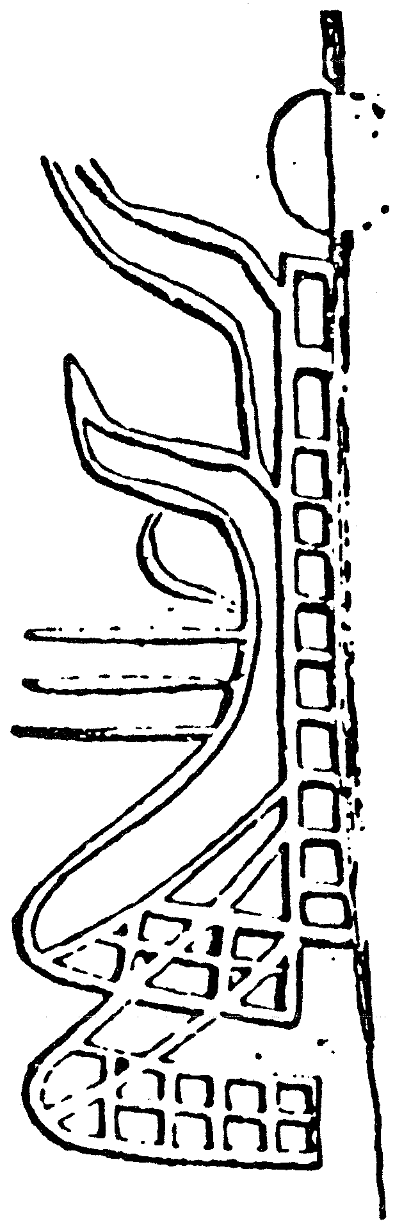


Fig. 33

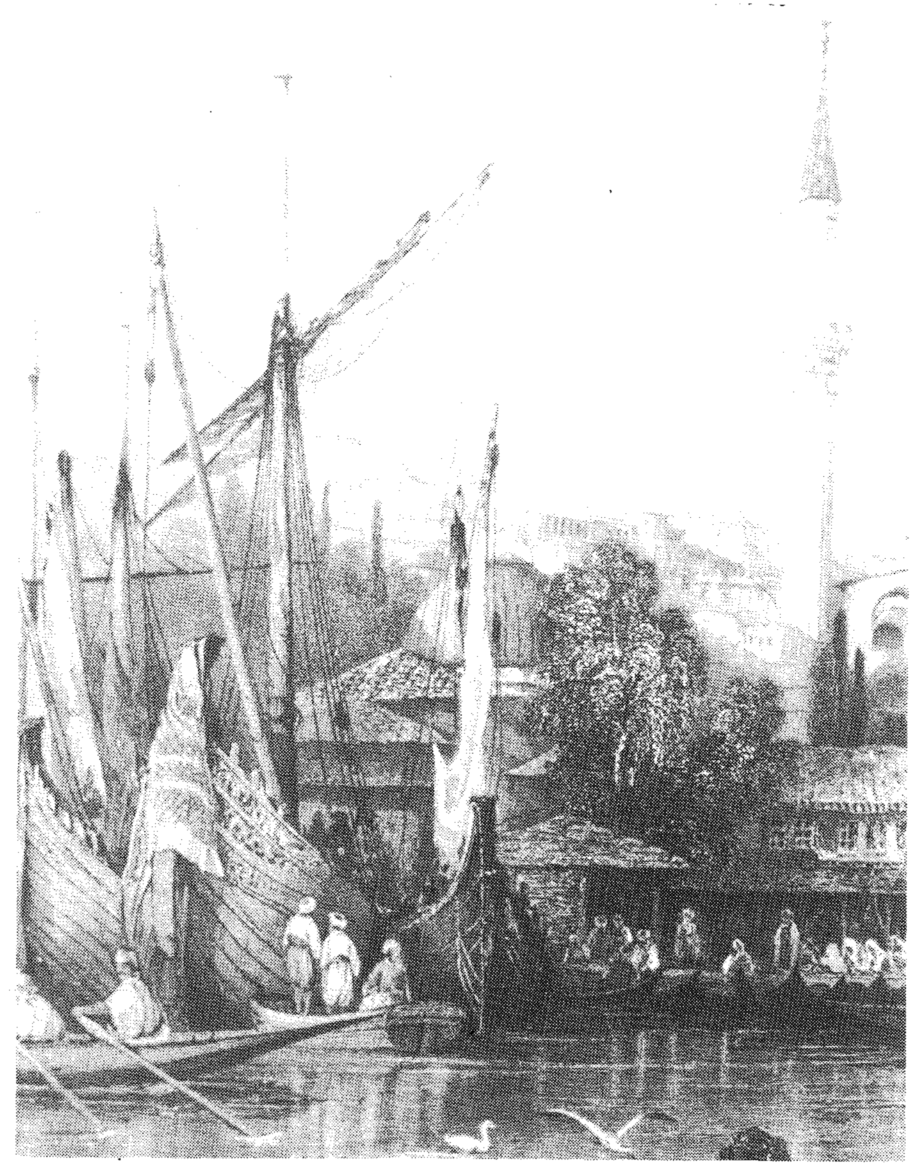


Fig. 34

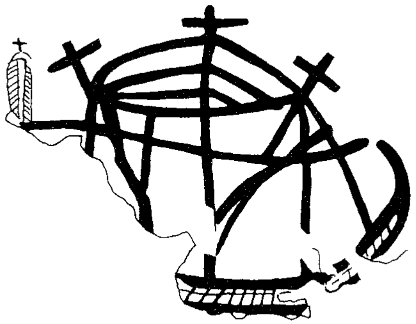


Fig. 35

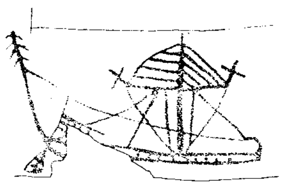


Fig. 36

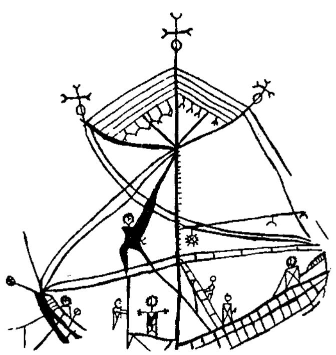


Fig. 37

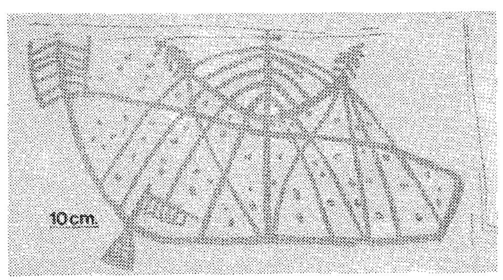


Fig. 38

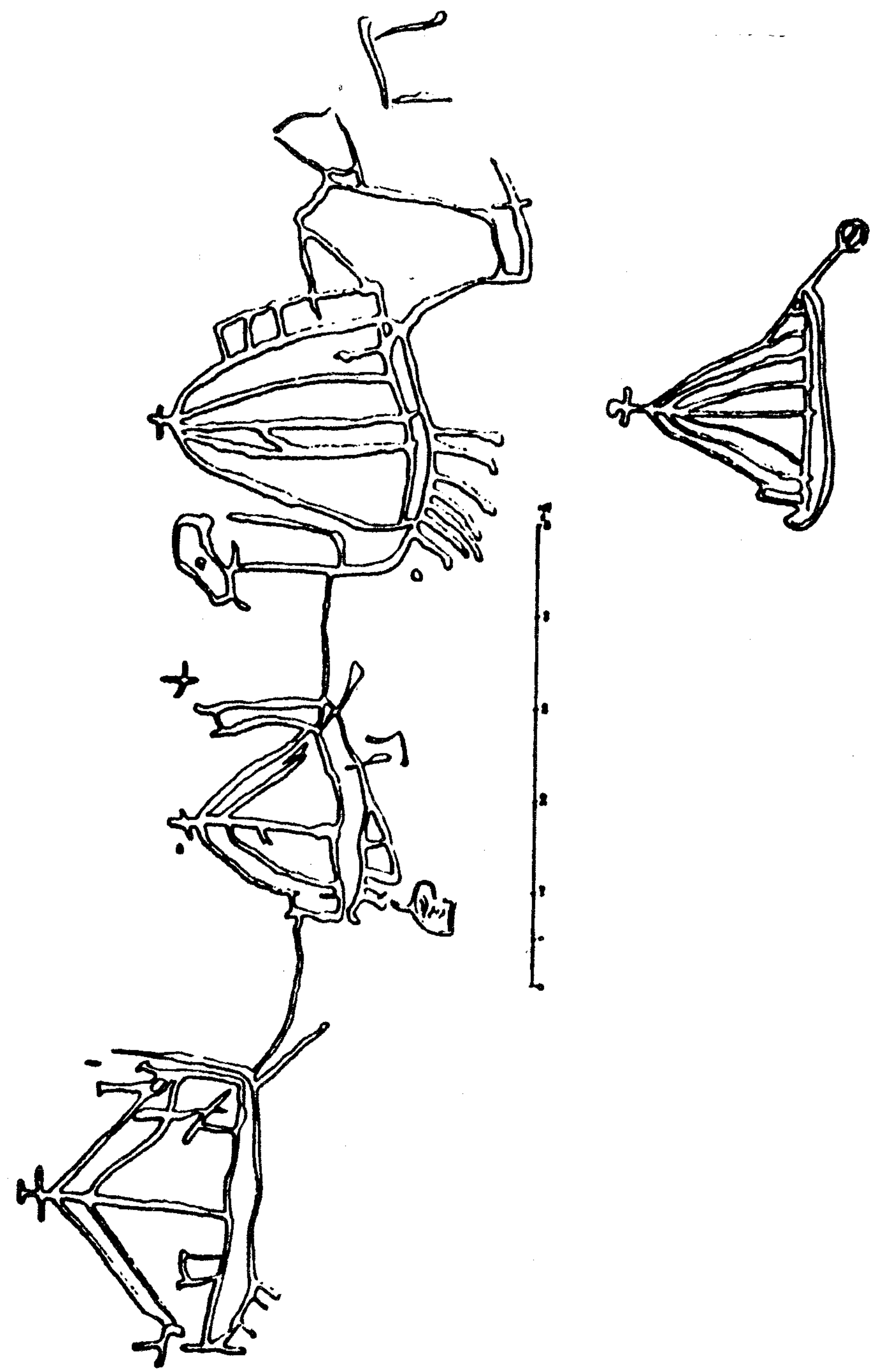


Fig. 39

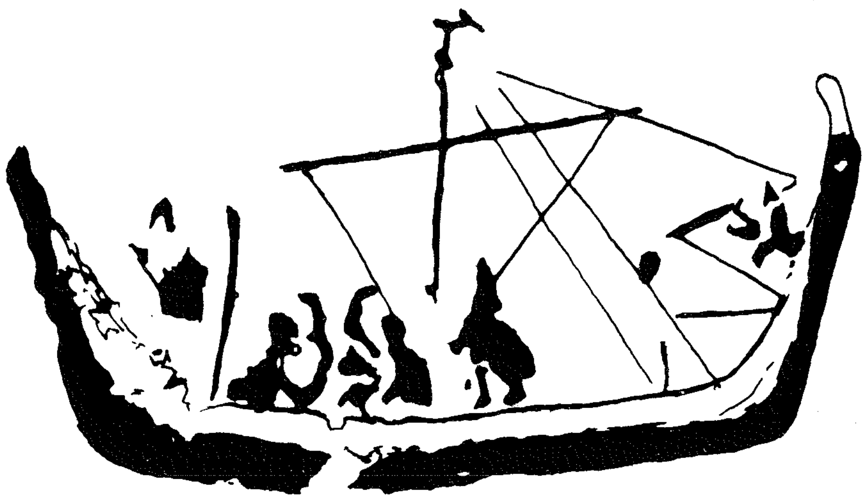


Fig. 40

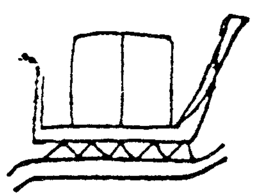


Fig. 41

Raid and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Treatise by Muḥammad bn. ʻUmar, the *Faqīh* from Occupied Moslem Crete, and the *Rhodian Sea Law*, Two Parallel Texts

Controversy surrounds the cultural activities of the Moslems during the Arab occupation of Crete. The Byzantine sources and a number of Byzantinists regard the Moslem Emirate of Crete as a pirates' nest while a reverse image appears in the Arabic sources.

The present article presents the work of an Arab intellectual, Muḥammad bn. ʻUmar bn. Yūsuf, born in the Emirate of Crete, and discusses parts of his trade treatise in connection with some similar Greek sources.

This study will focus mainly on certain problems concerning the running of merchant ships, i.e., shipwreck, jettison, and slaves on board.

This paper was mainly written at the University of Bergen during my stay there as a visiting professor in the summer of 1991.

I must express my particular thanks to the Chairman of the Department of Classics, Prof. T. Eide, and the Dean of the School of History, Prof. J. Børtnes. I also wish to thank Profs. R.S. O'Fahey, R.H. Pierce and J. Bell who helped me in my research. Finally, a special mention should be made to Prof. T. Hägg; without his affectionate and energetic concern neither this article nor my forthcoming book on The Conquest of Libya by the Arabs *could be completed.*

The second half of the fourth century A.H./ tenth century A.D. marks the peak of Arab navigation in the Mediterranean (V. Christides, 1991b). At the beginning of this golden age of Arab international trade we notice a constant pattern of shipping activities focusing on the triangle of Ifrīqiyah, Sicily and Spain, vividly reflected in the Geniza documents (S.D. Goitein, 1973), which was accompanied by a constant exchange of

roaming scholars through all these countries. (A typical example of such a scholar, in addition to Muḥammad bn. 'Umar mentioned below, is the poet Ibn Hānī who was born in Spain and went to Ifrīqiyah in 347/958. His poetry mirrors the antagonism between the Umayyads of Spain and the Fatimids of Ifrīqiyah which never ceased to exist in spite of the trade and intellectual relations between the two countries. (See M. Yalaoui, 1973, 19).

A minor partner in this international trade and intellectual exchange was the Emirate of Crete (ca. 824-961). Sparse as our information about it may be, its coins spread as far as Scandinavia, and scattered references in the Arabic sources leave no doubt about its activities.

In my book on the Emirate of Crete I have cited the concrete evidence for the commercial and cultural activities of the Emirate of Crete and its close commercial and cultural ties with Egypt and Spain (Christides, 1984b, 116-121; 133-136; see also the main reviews of my book by M. Marin, 1984; O. Tuma 1985; B. Scarcia Amoretti, 1985; O. Frolova, 1986; H. Kondylis, 1986; N. Serikov, 1987; C.E. Bosworth, 1989).

Little progress has been made with research on the Emirate of Crete since the publication of my book on the Arab conquest of Crete and no additional evidence has been brought forward. The most important new information is that a large number of ceramics covering a span of many centuries have been discovered on the little island of Dia, a few miles from Heracleion. Some of them may have come from the period of the Arab occupation of the island. (These findings have not been published yet). Moreover, a shipwreck of the ninth/tenth century was also discovered near the island of Dia which formed an ideal anchorage just across Chandax-Heracleion (D. Gibbins, 1991).

A short article on the Arab occupation of Crete appeared recently adding the pictorial evidence as illuminated in the manuscript of Skylitzes (Christides, 1989). Moreover, an icon of post-Byzantine times was found in the Catholic church of Naxos, with an obvious western flavour, depicting Saint Theoctiste in rags as she appears in her *Life*. Saint Theoctiste's *Life* contains important information on the activities of the Arabs of Crete in the Aegean (Fig. 1). (An analytical study of this icon will appear in the 6th volume of *Graeco-Arabica)*.

An abrupt worthless statement about the dating of the conquest of Crete, based on a misundersting of the Byzantine sources and distortion of the Arabic, appears in W. Treadgolds' book, *The Byzantine Revival* (1988), page 428. For this problem see my forthcoming article in Tropis III, 1993.

Some useful compendious remarks concerning the Emirate of Crete appear in E. Malamut's recent book (1988, passim). A comprehensive work about the landings of the Byzantine general Crateros and Nicephoros Phocas in Crete has been written by A. Chaniotis (unpublished work). Likewise, succinct comments on various topics concerning the Arab occupation of Crete are to be found in the new Russian edition of Leo Diaconos (1988, passim). Useful also is N. Serikov's brief article on a controversial passage of Theodosios Diaconos' poem "Sack of Crete" (Serikov, 1982). In contrast, concerning the siege of Chandax by Nicephoros Phocas, D. Tsougarakis' chapter on the Arab occupation of Crete is dissapointing (1988, chap. I). It is a rather uncritical repetition of N. Panayotakis' introduction and commentary from his pioneering edition of Theodosios Diaconos (Panayotakis, 1960). D. Tsougarakis actually lists John of Ephesos and Michael the Syrian among the Arabic sources, and although he does not even know in what language Michael the Syrian's work is written, he states flatly that he is not trustworthy! (Tsougarakis, 1988, Arabic Sources, 421-422 and p. 39, note 67: "... the Arab authors ... Kindi and Michael the Syrian, whose evidence is dismissed, in our opinion").

In particular, Tsougarakis chose to ignore the most important Arabic sources which report the existence of a number of intellectuals in the Emirate of Crete. It is the work of one of them, Muḥammad bn. 'Umar bn. Yūsuf, that is dealt with in the present article.

The *faqīh* Muḥammad bn. 'Umar bn. Yūsuf was the author of a very important trade treatise, the *Kitāb Akriyah as-Sufun* (Book of chartering ships), written in the tenth century. C. Cahen, in a short article, was the first to emphasize the importance of this treatise, which was published by Mustafa A. Taher (Cahen, 1988; Taher, 1983). Taher correctly pointed out that the *Akriyah as-Sufun,* sometimes falsely attributed to Abū'l Qāsim Khalaf bn. abī Firās, was actually written by the *faqīh* Muḥammad bn. 'Umar bn. Yūsuf (Taher, 1983, 9). Abū'l Qāsim Khalaf was a poor compiler with a bad reputation among the *fuqahā'* of Qayrawān, who simply wrote the introduction to this book and added a number of questions at the end.

Most of the Arabic sources describe Muḥammad bn. 'Umar bn. Yūsuf as the son of a *faqīh* who followed Abū Ḥafṣ in his exodus from Spain to Alexandria and then settled in Crete along with a few other *fuqahā'*. (On these *fuqahā'* see Christides, 1984b, 133 ff.).

In Qāḍī Iyāḍ's *Tartīb al-Madārik wa Taqrīb al-Masālik* (ed. Rabbat,

1970, 365), we find a description of the great traveller Muḥammad bn. 'Umar who, like many other scholars of this time, enjoyed travelling and studying.

محمد بن عمر
كنيته أبو عبد الله
. . . . . .

وسمع بالقيروان ابن عبدوس وغيره من أصحاب سحنون
سمع منه المصريون وغيرهم . .

وسمع منه أبو سعيد حفيده يونس وحمزة الحافظ ومن
الأندلسيين خالد بن سعيد

قال أبو العرب كان ثقة كثير الكتب في الفقه والآثار
ضابطاً لا .

قال غيره كان من أهل العلم والعقل والدين والثقة .

وقال ابن الفرضي عام سبع وتسعين (97) بعد أن كُفّ
بصره وسمع منه بها الناس .

قال غيره : بل توفي بأقريطش وبها ولد ، وكان أبوه
لزمها للجهاد

MUḤAMMAD BN 'UMAR
Origin from Abd Allah...

He studied under Ibn Abdūs and other disciples of Saḥnūn in Qayrawān. He was a teacher of the Egyptians and others. Abū Sa'īd, the grandson of Yūnus and Ḥamza the Ḥāfiz, took learning from him, and from the Andalusians Khālid bn. Sa'īd.

Abu-l' 'Arab said he was trustworthy and wrote many books on Jurisprudence and Traditions, composing them authoritatively.

Ibn al-Faraḍi said that in the year [2]97 he became blind and many were taught by him.

Others said that he died in Crete where he was born, and where his father had been stationed for *jihād.*

To return to our trade treatise, the main seaways, running along the coast of North Africa and towards Sicily and Southern Italy, which were used from Hellenistic and Roman times, are repeatedly mentioned. Fair winds were necessary to guide the Arab vessels, and shipwrecks were to be expected. As in the ancient sources, so too in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treatise we read of passengers frequently deciding to abandon their goods to avoid delay or serious damage. (For sailing in the axis of Sicily, North Africa, Sardenia, see G. Lilliu, 1991, where some important pictures of ships are presented, Fig. 2).

The content of Muḥammad's treatise, *Akriyah,* as its title indicates, deals with the chartering of ships, problems of jettisoning and marine insurance policies. However, it does offer some glimpses on navigation and sea-trade in the early tenth century, supplying fresh information on this subject about which our knowledge is so meager. (For Arab

seafaring in general and the relevant bibliography, see Christides, 1991b). Within the main frame of the shipping business, we learn a good deal about the constant voyages mainly in the triangle of Sicily, Ifrīqiyah and Alexandria, the carrying of passengers, forced disembarkations, storms and shipwrecks.

The information we draw from the treatise *Akriyah* concerning navigation, although indirect, is useful, but it still leaves open the gap in our knowledge concerning merchant ships in the tenth century. The literary and pictorial evidence we possess on Arab merchant ships refers more to those sailing in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and far less to those of the Mediterranean. (See, for example, one of the impressive pictures in Ḥarīrī's manuscript, Fig. 3, depicting a traditional Indian-bound Arab ship, a traditional modern Arab dhow of the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, Fig. 4, and a depiction of an Arab dhow in a Portuguese manuscript dated 1519 A.D., Fig. 5. Impressive is an animal transport Mediterranean ship depicted on glassware from Tunis inspired by the story of Noah, Fig. 6. This story inspired Moslem artists as late as the Mogul times, Fig. 7. For other pictorial representations see Christides, 1982, 1989, 1990).

Actually, a full understanding of the types and functions of Arab merchant ships requires a parallel examination of the corresponding Byzantine vessels, about which our knowledge is also limited. For the latter the collection and classification of the scattered depictions of ships decorating various Byzantine manuscripts is still a desideratum. (See, for example, the little used pictorial material in the manuscript of the Assizes of Romania (Fig. 8). More evidence can be drawn from the depiction of ships in hagiographical works, Fig. 9). There is ample Byzantine information on the navigation of the ships of the monastery of Patmos, but that is of later date (see M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, 1980; E. Vranousi, 1980).

It should be noted that by the tenth century a common type of typical warship and merchant ship had been developed in the Mediterranean. There were no important distinguishing marks between a Christian and a Moslem warship at that time (Christides, 1993a, forthcoming). Likewise, based on the evidence of underwater archaeology, A. Darmoul states that at that time "il en résulte, au niveau de la typologie du bateau dans le domaine musulman, qu'il n'y a pas de bateau caractéristique 'musulman' " (Darmoul, 1985, 161).

The Serçe Liman shipwreck confirms the same conclusion, since it is with difficulty that it was identified as a Moslem vessel (F.H. van

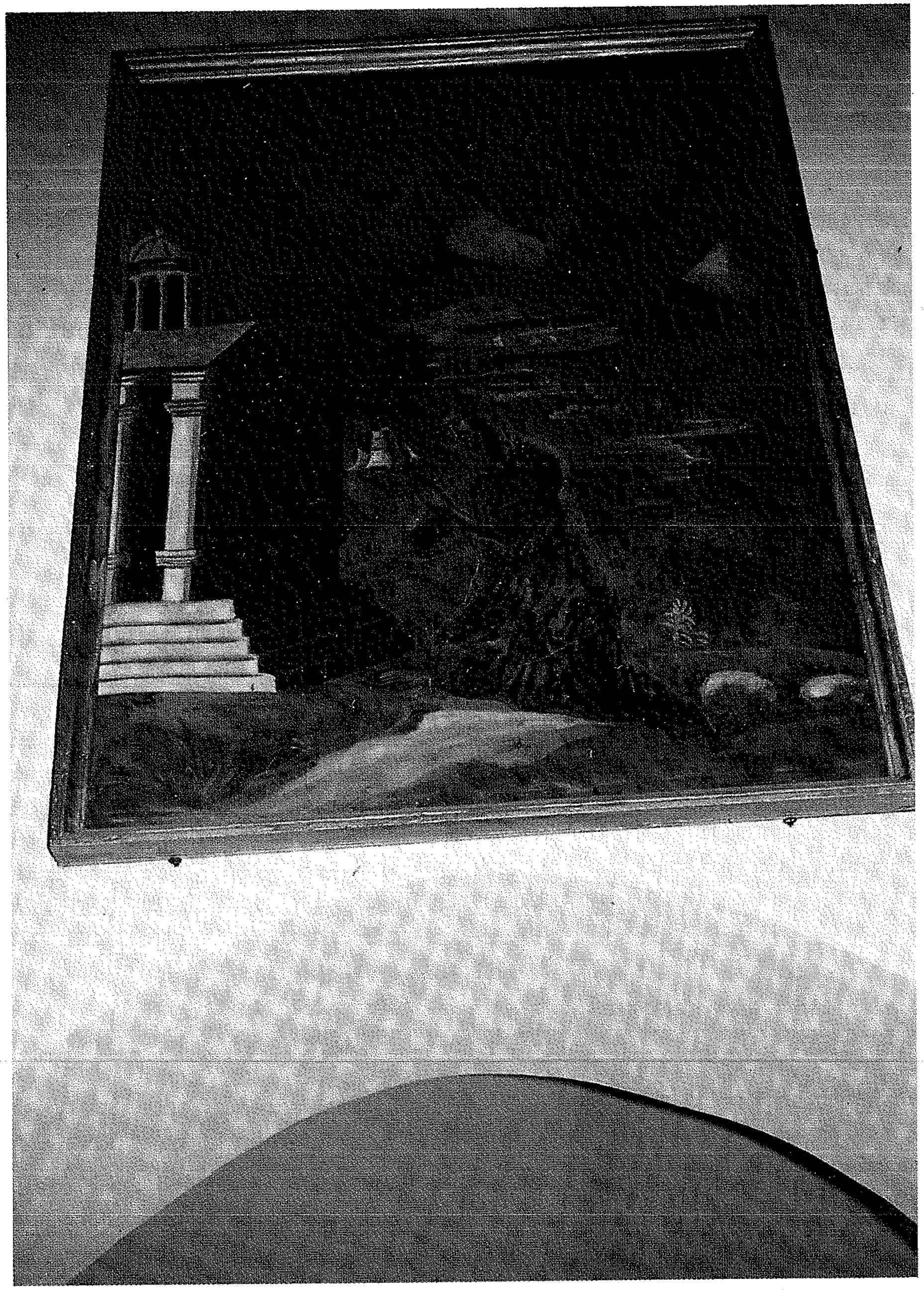


Fig. 1. Post-Byzantine icon of Saint Theoctiste. Catholic Church of Naxos. Courtesy of the Catholic bishop of Naxos.

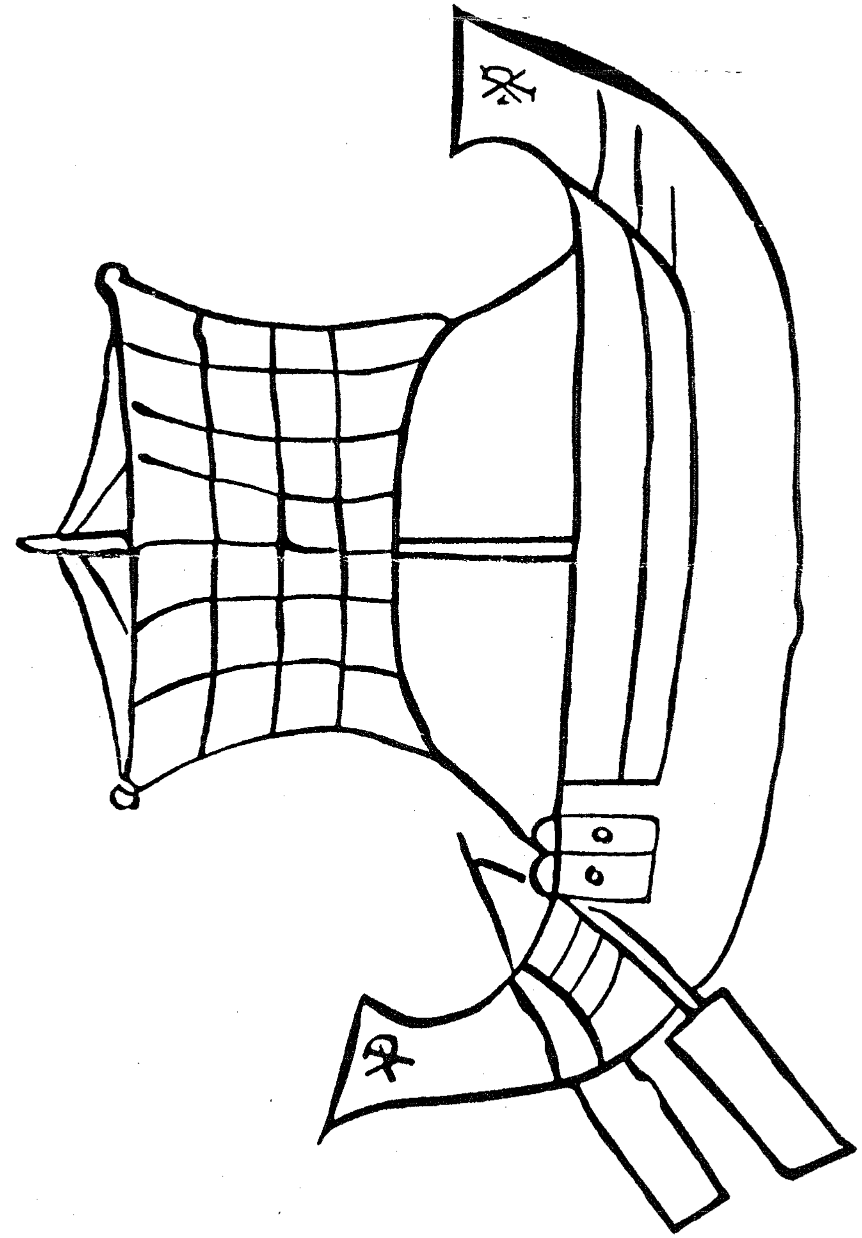


Fig. 2. Roman merchant freighter of the fourth century A.D., sailing from Italy to the ports of North Africa. G. Lilliu, "La Sardegna e il mare durante l'età romana", *L'Africa romana,* Atti dell VIII convegno di studio, Cagliari 1-16 December 1990, 1991, pl. 2.



Fig. 3. Arab merchant ship of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The Ḥarīrī Ar. MS 5847. 1237 A.D. National Library of Paris.

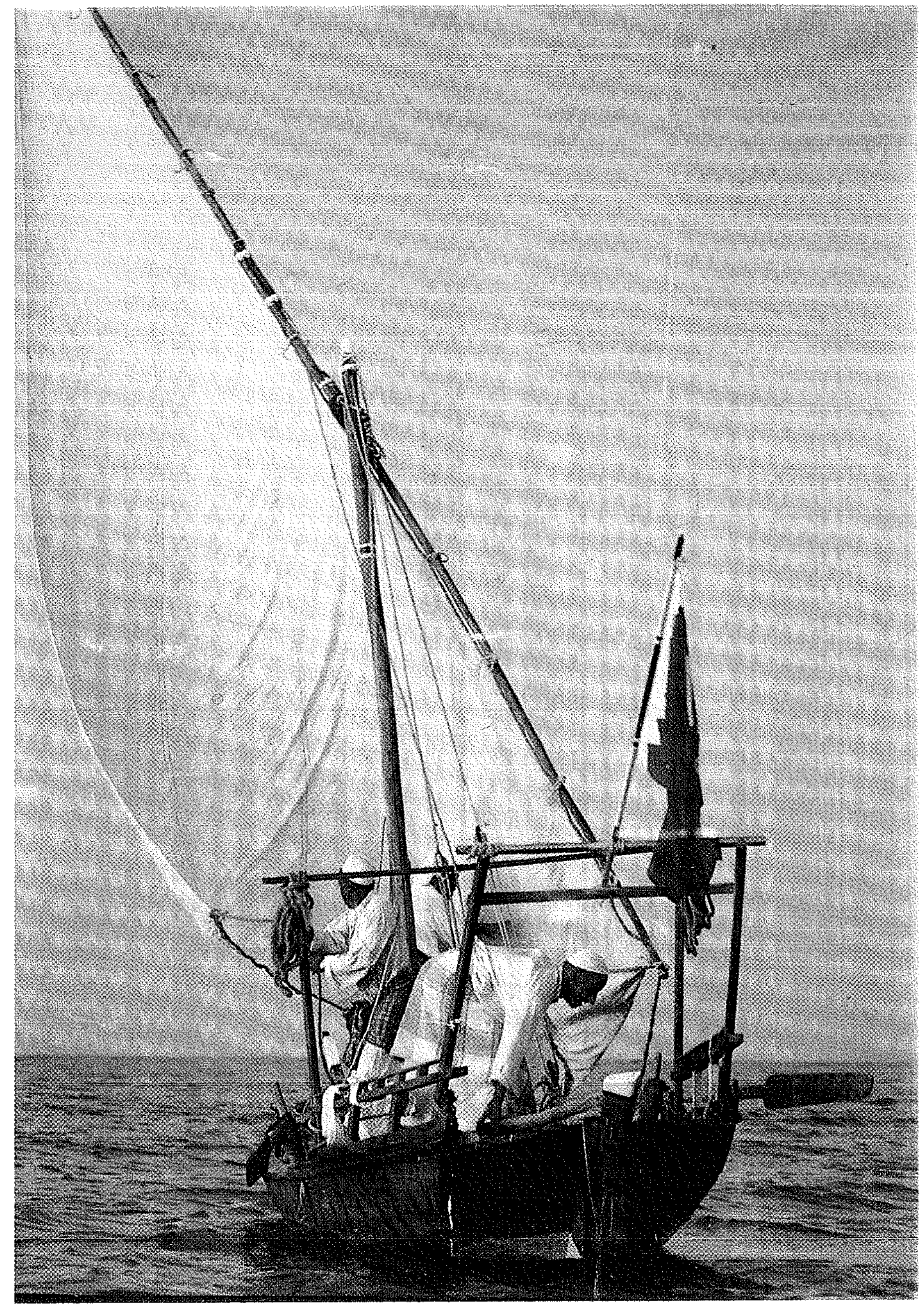


Fig. 4. Modern Arab Dhow of the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. *Dhows,* published by the Commercial Bank of Kuwait, 1980, front page cover.

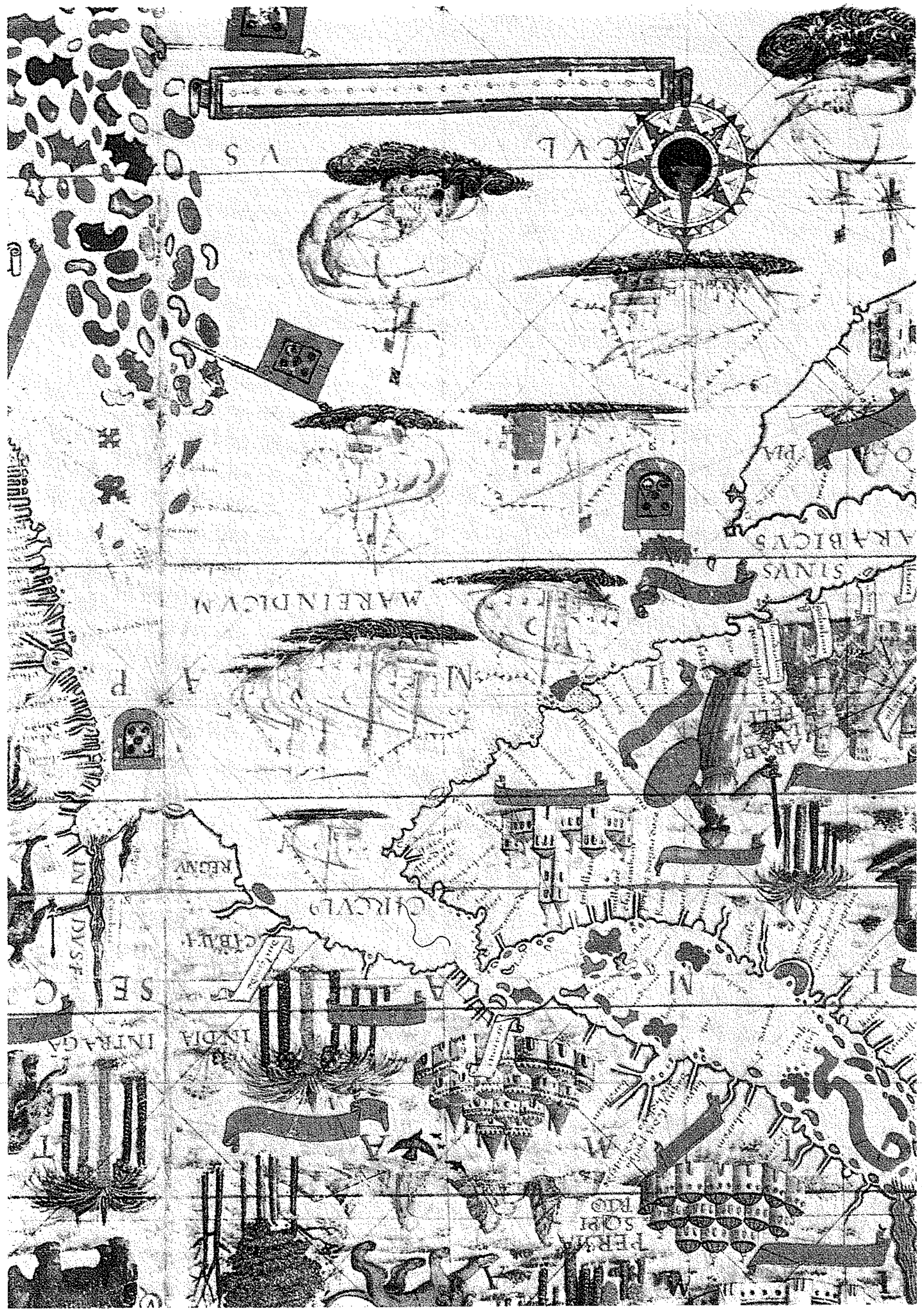


Fig. 5. A section of a Portuguese map dated 1519 A.D., showing an Arab dhow. *Dhows,* published by the Commercial Bank of Kuwait, 1980, p. 2.

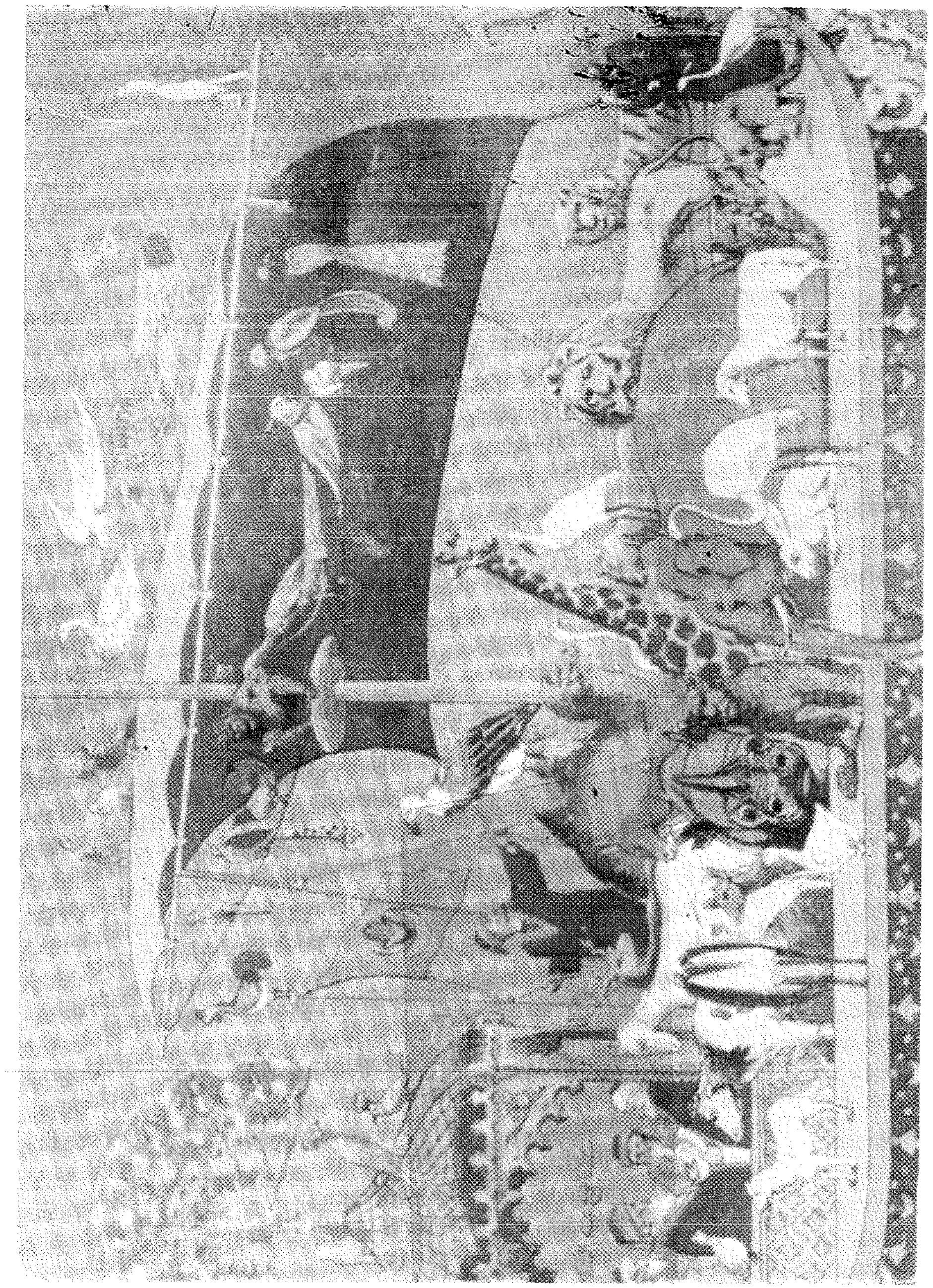


Fig. 6. Animal Transport Arab ship of the Mediterranean, depicted on glassware of Tunis. Dar Ben Abdallah Museum of Tunis. From *L'homme méditerranéen et la mer,* Actes du Troisième Congrès International d'études des cultures de la Méditerranée Occidentale, Jerba, April 1981, Tunis 1985, cover page.

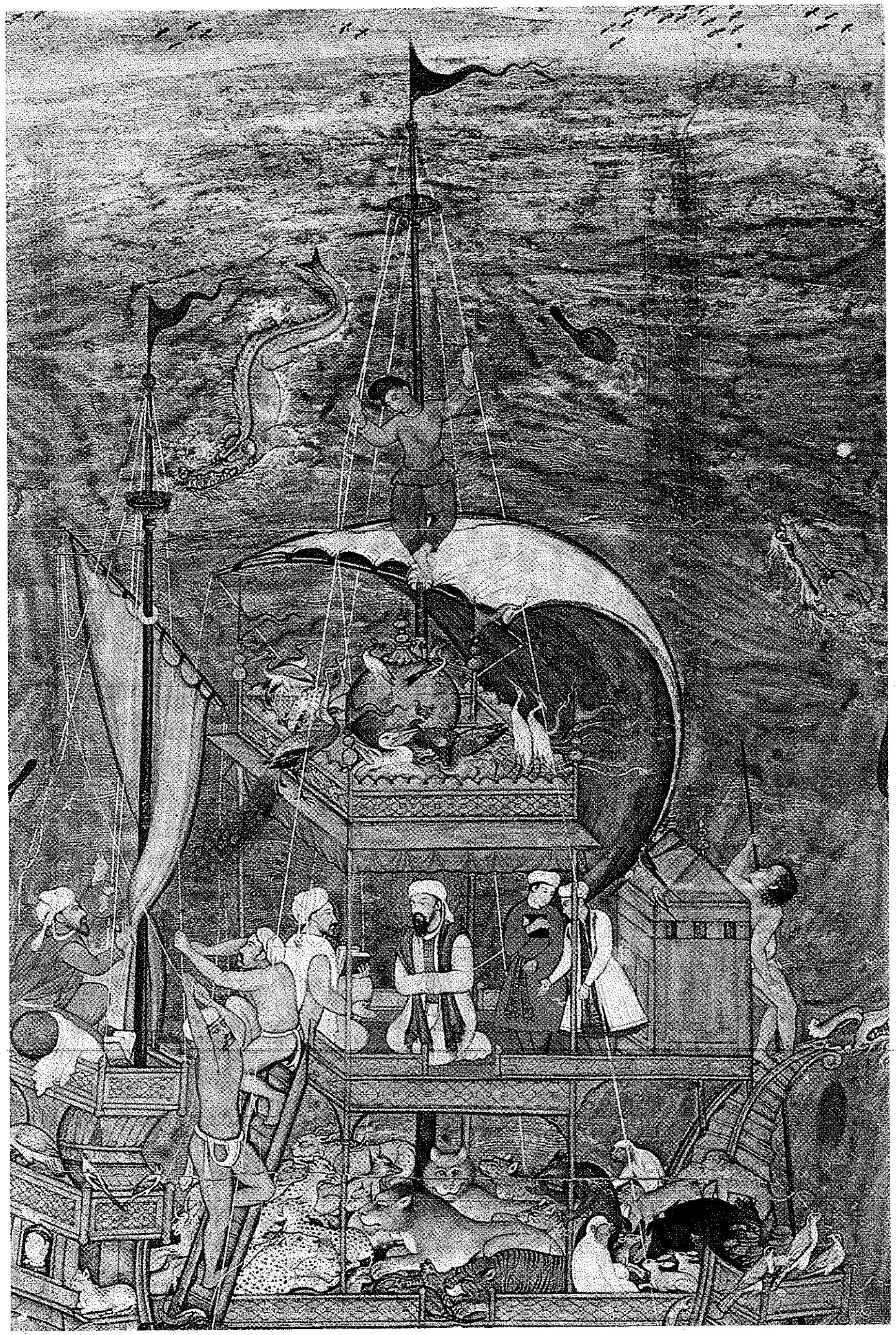


Fig. 7. A fifteenth-century illumination of Noah's Ark depicting a ship carrying animals. C.S. Welch, *Peinture imperial moghole,* New York, 1978.

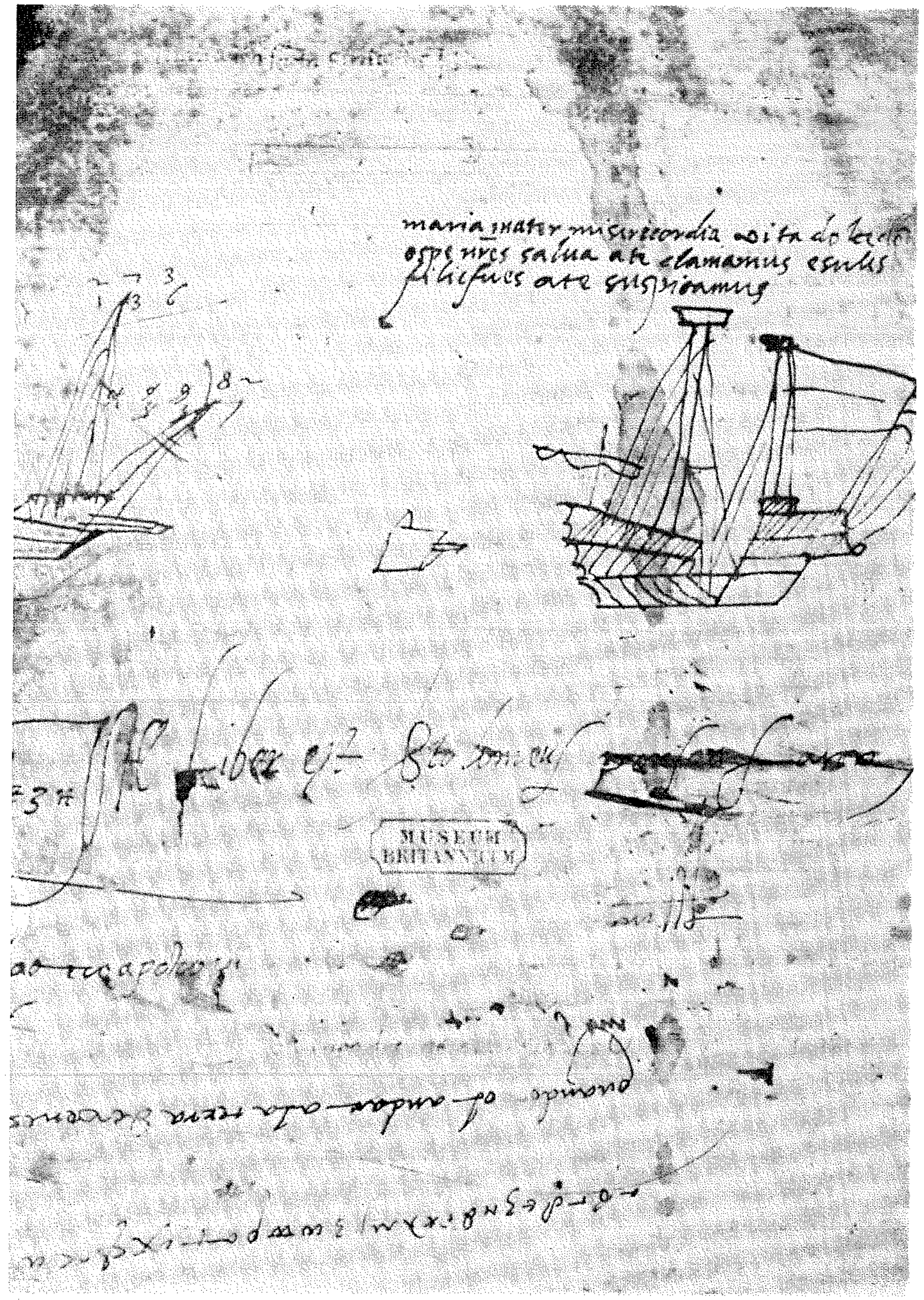


Fig. 8. D. Jacoby, *La feodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les Assises de Romanie,* Paris, 1971, p. 5. London, British Museum, add. mss 8512, fol. 23 v°.



Fig. 9. Depiction of a Merchantship. Byzantine icon (1620-1640), Patmos. Detail from the *Life* of St. Eustathios. I.M. Konidares, "Τα πλοία της μονής Πάτμου", *Αρχαιολογία* 32 (1989), p. 38.



Fig. 10. Modern Arab Ship of the Persian Gulf with an inscription of the *bismillah* (In the name of God the Merciful). *Dhows,* published by the Commercial Bank of Kuwait, 1980, p. 6.

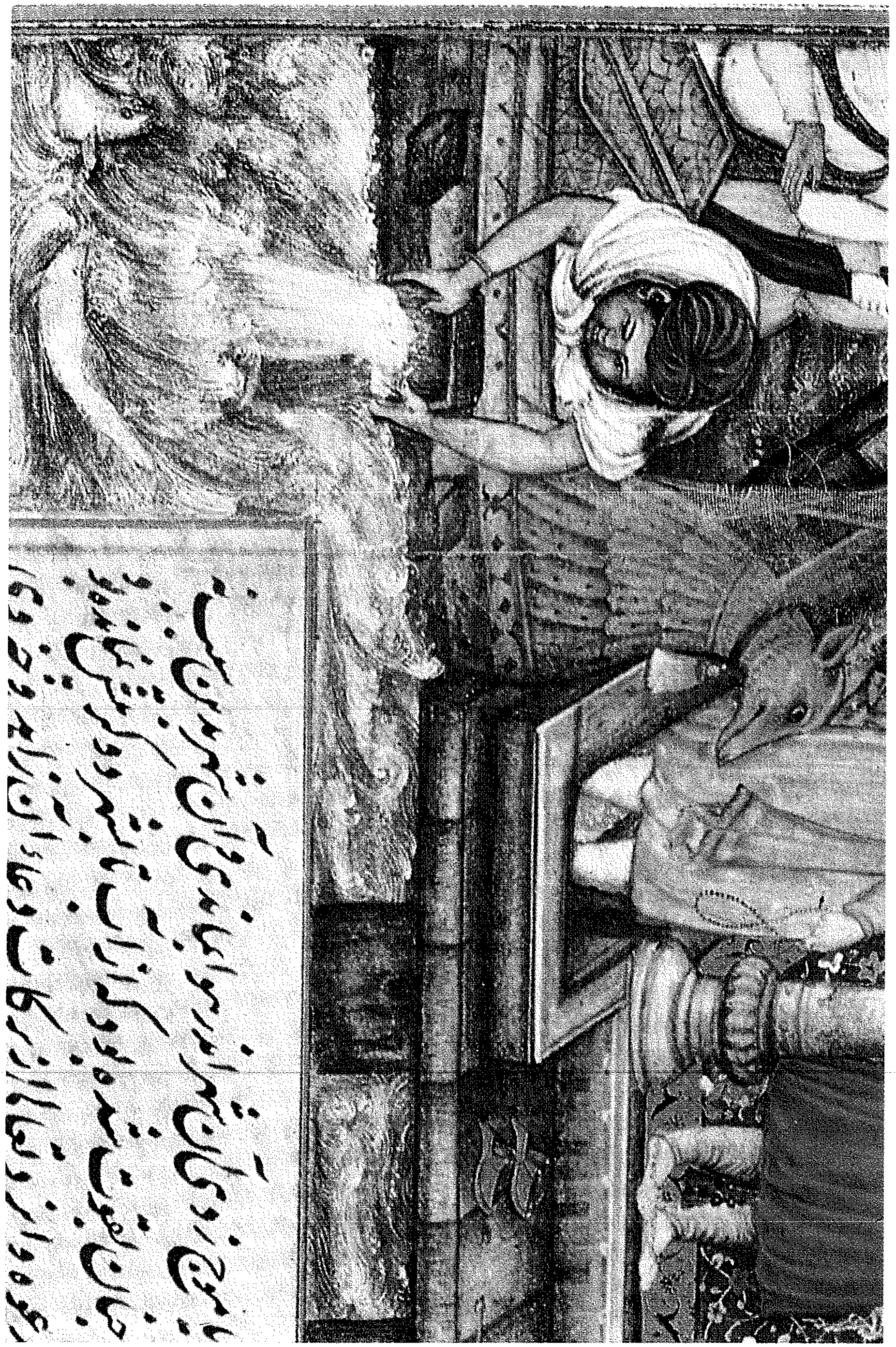


Fig. 11. Miskin's painting with a clear depiction of water thrown into the sea by servants. C.S. Welch, *Peinture imperiale moghole,* New York 1978. pl. 6.

Doorninck, 1991, 49 ff.). For some general remarks on merchant ships see J.H. Pryor and S. Bellabarba (1990), L. Basch (1991a, 19, and 1991b). Basch's effort to correct R.H. Dolley's interpretation of a passage of Leo VI's *Naumachica* concerning the position of a wooden castle on ships cannot be sustained since the Arabic translation of Leo VI's relevant passage confirms Dolley's view that this wooden castle was placed between the masts (Christides, b, forthcoming, 1993).

The close resemblance of Byzantine and Arab vessels in the tenth century explains how the Arabs of occupied Crete, who were not aware of the sack of Thessaloniki by Leo of Tripoli (904) and his sailing towards Chandax, could not recognize his ships until they approached Chandax. Of course, at closer quarters the Arab banners and inscriptions on the ship, usually the *bismillah,* reveal the identity of the ship (see the bismillah carved on a modern Arab dhow in Fig. 10, and Arab banners in D. Nicolle, 1982, p. 22). (Tsougarakis seems to ignore even basic elements of nautical technology by failing to understand why the Moslems of Crete could not recognize Leo of Tripoli's ships from a long distance at which Byzantine and Arab vessels could be easily confused. Moreover, his remark that the hundreds of ships of Nicephoros Phocas could reach Chandax unnoticed is even more astonishing. Even a half-blind person in Chandax would have been able to see this immense Byzantine fleet approaching (Tsougarakis, 1988, 65). I am well aware that some of my critical remarks are strict; my aim, however, is simply to make some important misinterpretations conspicuous.

To turn to our treatise, Muḥammad bn. 'Umar, writing in the first quarter of the ninth century, reports that it was easy for Arab vessels to make the crossing between Sicily and Maghrib. At this time the Byzantine-Arab struggle at sea was still going on, since Crete was under the Moslems and the early Fatimids' fleet frequently confronted that of the Byzantines in the Adriatic Sea (A. Ahmad, 1975, passim; K. Karapli, 1992; A. Tibi, 1991). It is noteworthy, however, that even at the time of this great turmoil sea communications and trade between Byzantium and the Arabo-Islamic world were maintained, especially with the Fatimids. The Fatimids at that time constantly expanded their international trade reaching as far as the Don and the Volga, as revealed by the large number of Islamic coins found in Poland, Russia and even in Sweden, especially on the island of Gotland where a dirham from Moslem Crete was discovered. (See B. Spuler, 1971, 493; for the Islamic coin, Christides, 1984b, 120). Their trade relations with the Byzantines continued long after the Arab conquest of Crete and its reconquest by Nicephoros Phocas.

It is noteworthy that in the beginning of the tenth century, on the one hand Leo VI wrote the military treatise *Naumachica* focusing on the number one enemy, i.e. the Arabs, and on the other hand a book written during the reign of the same emperor, the *'Επαρχικόν βιβλίον,* records that foreign traders were allowed to spend three months in Constantinople and that a group of Syrian merchants were allowed to remain in Constantinople as residents and after a period of ten years were even permitted to engage in trade with the same rights as the Byzantine *pandiopratai ('Επαρχικόν βιβλίον,* X,2; V,4, ed. J. Koder, 1991, 110, 94). R.S. Lopez (1945, 27) reports that later in the twelfth century the Syrian merchants managed to acquire a trading quarter in Constantinople, but actually in the *'Επαρχικόν Βιβλίον* it is stated that there was already a business quarter, called Embolon, in the tenth century: "Καὶ ἐπ' ἴσης πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐπιμερίζεσθαι μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας οἰκησάντων καὶ δεκαετῆ χρόνον ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διανυσάντων· εἶναι δὲ πάντας ἐν ἑνί τόπῳ τοῦ Ἐμβόλου..." *('Επαρχικόν βιβλίον,* 5.2, ed. Koder, 94; see also Koder, 148).

After the reconquest of Crete by the Byzantines in 961 the trade relations between Fatimids and Byzantines reached their peak and ships from both sides visited each other's ports freely (Christides, 1991b; for a short and comprehensive account of the trading activities of the Moslems in the Mediterranean at the time of the Fatimids, though with no reference to the evidence of underwater archaeology, see E. Ashtor, 1970, 167 ff.; for the evidence of underwater archaeology see F.H. van Doorninck, 1989. See also a short note in Y. Lev's book, 1991, 67; Lev discusses more extensively the relationship between the Fatimid merchant vessels and warships (p. 104 ff.); for the same problem see W. Hamblin, 1986, 77. For the Fatimid policies in the Red Sea see B.I. Beshir, 1972 and B. Lewis, (1949-50), 50 ff.).

It should also be emphasized that there was not any active slave trade at that time in the Aegean because of the need for the exchange of prisoners between Byzantines and Arabs. Such a trade flourished in the Aegean much later. J. Tsaras' astonishing statement "En Crète, le plus grand marche d'esclaves en Orient à cette époque [period of Arab occupation]" cannot be accepted. Most probably the author is confused with the later period of Venetian occupation of Crete when slave trade flourished (Tsaras, 1987, 132; Ch. Verlinden, 1983-1984. See also E.A. Zahariadou, 1983, 160-63; P.E. Niavis, 1991, 14-15).

The main enemy which Arab navigators faced at that time was the

perilous sea. Thoughout Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text we read of worry and anxiety stemming from the fear of shipwreck and constant efforts to work out the best way of apportioning the settlement of damages. Many of the solutions proposed in such cases in Muḥammad's text had been commonly accepted in the Mediterranean in ancient and medieval times and were established as standard practice (known in Greek as "ναυτική συνήθεια"; see D. Gofas, 1965, passim).

Naturally enough, the threat of attack by hostile vessels is dealt with in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text, where an interesting distinction is drawn between hostile Byzantine vessels and pirate ships (ed. Taher, 1983, 22). Such attacks on Arab merchant ships were to be expected and proper precautions were taken, as attested by the Geniza documents and the various Arabic sources. Sometimes the Arab merchant ships were armed or accompanied by a warship, or valuable merchandise might even be carried in the warships themselves. (See evidence in the Geniza documents, Goitein, 1973, 98; for a reference in a popular Arab narrative, see R. Khawam, 1967, 101: "Il equipa deux navires; dans l'un, il mit les richesses, dans l'autre les gens préposés à la garde et la défence de ces biens contre tout ennemi desirant intercepter le convoi sur mer".

As already mentioned, however, the worst enemy of the Arab merchant vessels was the sea. Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treatise goes into considerable detail about the obligations and responsibilities of merchant passengers in case of shipwreck. Out of all this wealth of information only a few important points will be discussed in the present work, i.e. some cases of jettison and their consequences for all those involved, the presence of servants and slaves on Arab merchant ships and their treatment in the event of shipwreck. For this purpose the relevant passages from Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text, with an English translation, are given in three special appendixes. In the discussion based on these passages from Muḥammad's text, the information found in other Arabic sources is compared with that found in the Byzantine sources, particularly the *Νόμος Ροδίων Ναυτικός*.

Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treatise, focusing on the legal aspects of the consequences of problems caused by bad weather, reveals the actual conditions of navigation at his time. Passengers were forced to reschedule their routes and jettisoning becomes common practice. Following the tradition of the Graeco-Roman world, the passengers were frequently, but not necessarily, merchants accompanying their goods or those of their friends (Christides, 1991). It had been a common practice

from ancient times for passengers to pay a fare, usually called "ναῦλον" in Greek and "naulum" in Latin. In accordance with the common Mediterranean practice, this was not paid at the end of the trip, but normally at the time of embarkation. Thus we read in the *Life of Saint Gregorios of Agrigente,* "Δοὺς τὸν ναῦλον ἡμῶν εἰσῆλθον" (P.G., 98, 592A). The payment of fares depended on the whim of the ship's captain, who could even waive payment altogether, as we know from a passage in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa where a Moslem captain refused payment from a passenger out of courtesy to his Christian faith. (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. C. Défrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti, II, rev. ed. V. Monteil, 1968, where the word *naulūn,* is used taken from the Greek ναῦλον). The word ναῦλον, Ar. *naulūn,* could also mean the charge for freight (J. Vélissaropoulos, 1980, 270 ff.; L.R. Ménager, 1960).

In Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text the passengers paid their fare according to the distance they travelled. Of course, the position they occupied in the ship must have been taken into consideration in determining the fare, since they could secure berths in cabins or be placed in other parts of the ship (Christides, 1989, 76-77). One of the legal problems discussed in Muḥammad's text is whether a passenger in a ship forced by bad weather into a port beyond his destination should pay a surcharge on his fare. The answer, according to Muḥammad bn. 'Umar, is no. (See below, Appendixes A and B).

Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text discusses more extensively the problems caused by jettisoning. Jettisoning has been a traditional nautical practice for many centuries. Jettison (Greek: ἐκβολή, ἀποβολή; Latin: iactus) is the practice of tossing cargo overboard in a storm. The Graeco-Roman maritime practices and laws deal thoroughly with jettison and its legal consequences. (For a brief discussion of the above, as well as some references in the Byzantine sources, see J. Rougé, 1966, 398-411).

Jettison appears frequently in the Arabic sources as a means of avoiding shipwreck. Here it is worth mentioning that as a precaution against shipwreck Ibn Baṭṭūṭa used to check the seaworthiness of any vessel he was to travel in before going on board, a practice which saved his life on one of his trips in the Red Sea. (See ed. C. Défrémery, and B.R. Sanguinetti, rev. ed. V. Monteil, II, 1968, 251).

According to the maritime customary law of the Arabian coast, jettison was regarded as a disgrace and was practiced only in extreme cases (R.B. Serjeant, 1966, 205). Skipping all the responsibilities of the captain in case of jettison and the circumstances under which such a decision should be made, discussed in detail in the Graeco-Roman sources and

the Rhodian Sea Law, Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text directly poses the question of what would happen if jettison took place; if there was any financial liability for losses suffered by free passengers and slaves, whether the latter were Moslems or infidels (Taher, 1983, 24, and below Appendix A).

The most important consequence of jettisoning was the problem of who was to pay for the loss. According to D. Gofas, there was a special type of insurance in Hellenistic times to cover losses of merchandise stowed on merchant ships under any circumstance, including shipwreck, caused by a storm (Gofas, 1965, 28 ff., where a different opinion on this question is also presented). Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text mentions no such type of insurance and the question is asked directly (see Apendix A): "For cargo tossed into the sea, are charges to be paid both by freemen and by slaves?"

The Rhodian Sea Law does not make any references to the grain ships which belonged to wealthy shipmasters, called *navicularii* (ναύκληροι), who were obliged under compulsory public service to transport grain from North Africa to Rome or Constantinople. According to the fourth century Theodosian code, the fisc assumed the loss of cargos sunk because of bad conditions. (Theodosian Code, 13.9.4-9; for the transportation of grain see G. Rickman, 1980).

It is noteworthy that according to the Rhodian Sea Law, which incorporated maritime practices dating from at least Hellenistic times till the beginning of the eighth century (and some of its manuscripts go much later), if jettison results from the negligence of the captain and/or the crew, they are to pay for the loss, otherwise the loss is shared by the passengers and merchants. *(Νόμος Ροδίων Ναυτικῶν,* ed. W. Ashburner, 1909, repr. 1976, pars tertia, μα΄ "περί πλοίου διαφθαρέντος, τά δέ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν σωθέντα ἤ συναπολεσθέντα". μγ΄ "περί πλοίου ἐκβολή ποιήσαντος τοῦ γόμου καί τῶν ἐξαρτίων". μδ΄ "περί πλοίου ἐκβολήν τῆς καταρτίας ἤ τῶν αὐχένων ἐν ζάλῃ ὑπομείναντος").

In Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treatise the loss arising from jettison is not borne by the crew nor even by the ordinary passengers, but entirely by the merchants, whether they accompany their goods on the voyage or not (see Appendix C). The charge falls on all the merchandise on board. It should be noted here that each merchant's goods bore his personal mark and were easily identified. Thus the amphorae from two shipwrecks excavated at Yassi Ada (7th c. A.D.) and Serçe Liman (early 11th c. A.D.) – the first Byzantine and the second Fatimid – are imprinted with special

stamps identifying the owners (G.F. van Doorninck, 1989, 252-253).

Likewise, according to the maritime practices of the Ḥadrami vessels, rooted in the pre-Islamic Arab tradition, the loss is apportioned among all the merchants unless the lost goods clearly bear the mark of the owner, who then is solely responsible. In contrast, according to the maritime practices of the Omani vessels, derived from those of pre-Islamic times, all those with cargo on board, including any members of the crew, share the loss (R.B. Serjeant, 1966, 205).

Another interesting passage in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text refers to the liability of the shipmaster in the event of jettison of parts of the ship (see Appendix C). This passage is of outstanding importance, first because it reveals the attitude of the *fuqahā'* towards this complex problem often faced in the Graeco-Roman period and dealt with in the Rhodian Sea Law, and secondly because it provides us with some Arab nautical terms which can be compared with those found in the relevant passages of the Arabic translation of the Rhodian Sea Law, and also in the texts of Ibn al-Manqalī and Ibn Mājid. (For the Arabic translation of the Rhodian Sea Law incorporated in the *Ecloga* see St. Leder, 1985, 114 ff.; for the relevant passages in al-Manqalī see Christides, 1982, 1984a; for the text of Ibn Mājid see the edition of the Soviet Academy, 1984).

This somewhat perplexing passage refers to the responsibilities of the shipmaster when any of the ship's gear is jettisoned. While it is clearly stated that the losses arising from the jettison of merchandise are to be charged against the preserved goods, the liability for throwing away parts of the ship's gear – usually damaged in storms – falls on the shipmaster and the members of the crew. This of course is dictated by the need to exercise pressure on them to take due care on the voyage.

Such pressure on the captain and the crew is common in the Graeco-Roman period to ensure safe navigation. Thus in P.Ox. XLV, 3250 (1. 19 ff.), dating from A.D. 63, the captain is told to select competent sailors and avoid unecessary risks: "Ἀποπλευσάτω ἀνυπερθέτως μετά πάσης ἀσφαλείας... και ναύτας ἱκανούς...". (For this and other similar references see Vélissaropoulos, 1980, 332, note 71).

Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text does not explicitly state that in the event of jettison of the ship's gear the liability falls on the captain and/or the members of the crew, but by saying that those who jettison any of the ship's gear are the only ones liable for the damage, he indirectly places the liability – in the view of a faqīh – on the shipmaster and the members of the crew who were in charge of the ship's gear. But in the same paragraph of our text another faqīh is quoted as stating that in the event of jettison of the ship's gear, the shipmaster is liable for damage to the lifeboat, the ropes and the anchor but is not responsible for jettisoned masts and the gear which is at the ends of the ship. (Appendix C).

In contrast, papyri of the Hellenistic period emphasize the responsibility of the shipmaster and the crew in cases of loss, as does the relevant legislation of Roman times (Vélissaropoulos, 1980, 328 ff.; F.M. de Robertis, 1953). Likewise, in the Rhodian Sea Law a distinction is always drawn between damage resulting from the shipmaster's and/or the crew's negligence and damage due to causes beyond their control. Thus, in part III, ι´ (Ashburner, 1976, 17), it is stated that in case of negligence ("Ἐάν ἀμελήσῃ") the shipmaster and crew pay for damage to the ship. In part III, μδ´ (Ashburner, 36), it is stated that if the masts and rudders are jettisoned because of a storm, all will contribute towards the loss; but if the loss is due to the shipmaster's fault, he is liable to pay for any damage.

Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text in the last passage uses the term *ṣāhib al-markab* for the shipmaster, a term which corresponds to the Greek ναύκληρος and is equally vague, since both terms could mean the captain of a ship, its owner, its charterer, a representative of the owner, or any one of these who was also the ship's captain. (On the term *ναύκληρος* see Vélissaropoulos, 1980, 77 f.; Ashburner, 1976, cxxx ff.; A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, 1978, 29; J. Karayannopoulos, 1958, 109 ff.).

Ashburner's view that the term δεσπότης πλοίου (master of the ship), used instead of *ναύκληρος* in part III, κστ´ of the Rhodian Sea Law, means the owner of the ship as distinct from the captain, cannot be sustained. It is simply a synonym for *ναύκληρος*. Likewise in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text the term *rāb al-markab* (rāb = δεσπότης) is used as an alternative to *ṣāhib al-markab* in the same paragraph (ed. Taher, 1983, 27). In the Arabic translation of the Rhodian Sea Law the term *ṣāhib al-markab* is used indiscriminately as an alternative to *ra'is al-markab* (Leder, 1985, 116-118).

It is noteworthy that the words *ναύκληρος* and its equivalent *ṣahib al-markab* are the most commonly used by Byzantine hagiographers and the Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, meaning captain and/or owner.

The technical terms for a ship's gear in the text of Muḥammad bn. 'Umar are the same as in Qudāma's short naval treatise in his book *Kitāb al-Kharāj* and in the Arabic translations of parts of the *Naumachica* (preserved by Ibn al-Manqalī) and parts of the Rhodian Sea Law (Christides, 1982, 1984a; Leder, 1985, 114-119). Thus for the ship's gear in general the term *ālat* is used (Appendix C; *Kitāb al-Kharāj,*

Christides, 1982, 56), the ropes are called *ḥibāl* (Appendix C; Christides, 1984a, 140; Leder, 1985, 114), and the sails are called *qulū'* (Appendix C; Christides, 1982, 56; 1984a, 140; Leder, 1985, 114). The same term is also commonly used by the later Arab author Ibn Mājid, who, moreover, calls Indian sails *al-qulū' al-hindiyah (Kitāb,* ed. of the Soviet Academy of Moscow, 1984, 25r, 12).

The most widely used Arabic word for ships, *markab* or *safīnah,* also appears in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text, while the term *qārib* is restricted to the lifeboat, which seems to be attached to the ship's side and not stowed on board as it is also evident in many Arabic manuscript illuminations (Appendix C). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the famous Arab traveller of the fourteenth century, also uses the term *qārib* for a lifeboat which was dispatched from the shore (ed. C. Défrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti, repr. 1968, vol. IV, 187). The Greek word for the lifeboat is σκάφος. (See, for example, in the *Life* of Saint Nicephoros (+813), "τῇ νηΐ κεχωσμένῃ ὕδατι πέπομφεν... μικρόν σκάφος... κ'ακείνους σώσειν...", *Analecta Bollandiana* 78 (1960), 422). Other terms for lifeboats are (ἡ) σκάφη and ἐφολκίς.

A very interesting point which is brought up in our text is the appearance of slaves on board. Both Arabic and Byzantine sources confirm that no slaves were used in either Arab or Byzantine warships from the seventh century A.D., when they first confronted each other, until at least the thirteenth century (Christides, 1982, 79). The problem of slaves on board in the Byzantine Empire is not treated in any study on Byzantine slaves. (See, for example, N. Oikonomides, 1986, and H. Köpstein, 1989). The practice of not using slaves as sailors was rooted in earlier tradition. During the Graeco-Roman period enlisting in the navy was considered a privilege (Christides, 1990, 92-93).

The sporadic use of slaves by the Graeco-Romans does not justify certain strange statements by R.S. Lopez, whose indisputable scholarship is not matched by his knowledge of naval technology: "We do not know, but all this nautical zoology suggests vessels emphasizing agility and speed at the expense of size, and this can only mean a departure from the traditional three-deckers and other behemoths of ancient fleets. At any rate the gradual adoption of smaller, one decked vessels in the place of the old three-deckers and four-deckers was a powerful factor of democracy, if I may be permitted to use this term, which may seem anachronistic here though it was first used by the Greeks. The trireme called for slave oarsmen rowing in a floating prison, but on the single deck of the galley (and, perhaps, of its forerunner, the dorkon) all sailors shared the dangers and the opportunities of a common venture in the invigorating air of the open sea" (Lopez, 1959, 71, 79).

In contrast to what Lopez claims, speed was the main requirement for the Graeco-Roman practice of ramming. Full alertness and mobility were needed by the Graeco-Roman crews, while by the time of Leo VI – as mentioned by Lopez – heavy machinery and Greek fire had replaced the old light weaponry in the average Byzantine and Arab warship. An intermediate state of one-banked warships – primitive *dromones* – appears only in the sixth-century Byzantine fleet. One-banked ships could be used only as patrol ships in the tenth century. (For a full discussion of the Byzantine *dromon* and the Arab *shinī,* see my forthcoming paper, 1993b).

In the merchant fleet, slaves do appear on board both Byzantine and Arab ships, but their function as crew members remains unknown. L. Casson reports that for the fourth century A.D. the *Dig.* 4.9.7 informs us that there were slave shipmasters who enjoyed the same status as the freemen (Casson, 1971, 328). However, in this passage, the term *magister* (shipmaster) probably refers to the shipowner's agent. Such slave agents in charge of a merchant ship were common in the Arab vessels. An Arab slave could be authorized to represent the interests of his master as *wakīl* (representative, agent) in a ship. (For the slaves as *wakalā',* see E. Tyan, 1960, 264).

Although in both Byzantine and Arab merchant ships slaves could be appointed as representatives of their masters because of their trustworthiness, Arabs made use of them more frequently, following their common practice of entrusting important positions to slaves. Lev states "the Arab ruler turned to his slave ... in expectation of loyalty and exemplary service" (Lev, 1991, 77).

In Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treaty it is reported that slaves could be part of the cargo (Appendix A). The presence of such slaves is referred to in connection with jettisoning and the defrayment of expenses resulting from it (Appendix A). In the Rhodian Sea Law there is a reference to slaves as merchandise, "παῖδες καί εἴ τις ἄλλος συμπλέει μή ἐπί πράσει ἀγόμενος κατά τιμήν ὤν" (part III, 9, Ashburner, p. 16). In another passage (part II, 8, Ashburner, p. 59) we have an explicit reference to servants: "ἐμπόρῳ ἔχειν ἐξόν ἐν πλοίῳ παῖδας δύο" (A merchant is permitted to have two servants on board). Here the meaning of παῖς like that of *khadām* used in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text could mean either free servant or slave.

The question remains whether any crewmen were slaves. Muḥammad

bn. 'Umar's text offers us some hints illuminating this little-known aspect of seafaring. He first mentions the slaves who were carried as merchandise with the freight, luggage, etc. Then he reports that there were on board not only passengers' servants accompanying their masters, but also servants of the ship *(hadamu al-markabi).* It is moreover specified that these servants could be freemen or slaves, the latter Moslems or Christians. It seems, therefore, that the slaves on board worked as servants, along with the free ones (see Apendix A).

In another Arab text by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī we have a more illuminating description of the situation on board a ship (1964, 187-9). The slaves remain with their master, separated from the sailors. Baghdādī's text also offers us a colourful description of the luxurious pavilion where the master of the ship sat, which often appears in Arab manuscript illuminations depicting merchant ships (see, for example, Fig. 3). A systematic study enumerating all the relevant pictorial evidence in Arabic manuscripts and comparing it with Byzantine and Western artistic evidence is needed.

The slave servants on board performed the typical duties of personal servants, but they could be also used for some menial jobs on the ship, as for example the emptying of buckets from the portholes. (See two such servants in the somewhat blurred illumination in Ḥarīrī's manuscript (Fig. 3) which can be understood in connection with Miskin's later painting (Fig. 11)). The Rhodian Sea Law also records the existence of such services (Ashburner, clxxxvi). Slaves working as servants and even as fighting men are also mentioned in the maritime customary Law of the Arab ships of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea which was rooted in pre-Islamic traditional practices (Serjeant, 1966, 205).

The short discussion in this paper is based only on a few passages from the treatise of the *faqīh* Muḥammad bn. 'Umar, but it does suggest certain important general remarks.

Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text is a succinct account of practices mainly concerned with ship chartering, in the form of advice. The Arabs did not have any codified maritime laws, nor were there any official regulations regarding seafaring. The *Sharī'ah* included only certain rules concerning fasting, praying during sea voyages or after shipwreck and other topics of a general nature.

Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text represents the efforts made by *fuqahā'*, the legal experts, to cope with the numerous problems related to maritime trade, the responsibilities of shipowners, the privileges and duties of merchants and other passengers, etc. Obviously the suggestions of the *fuqahā'* were based on pre-Islamic practices and the maritime practices widely accepted in the Mediterranean.

In contrast, Byzantine maritime trade – heavily controlled by the state, especially after the second half of the seventh century – was based on Roman-Byzantine law and the Mediterranean practices embodied in the Rhodian Sea Law, which was written in about the seventh century, rooted in the Graeco-Roman tradition (see P.J. Zepos, 1978, 742 ff.).

The particular problems presented in this paper concerning shipwrecks and liabilities in the event of jettison were regulated by the Byzantines' legislation and their maritime practices. In contrast, the Arabs followed maritime practices only.

The parallel examination of the text of Muḥammad bn. 'Umar and the Byzantine sources – particularly the Rhodian Sea Law – reveals that they coincided on one important issue, that of the use of slaves on board merchant ships. I have shown in a previous work based on Greek and Arabic war manuals and historical sources that no slaves were used on warships of either the Byzantine or the Arab navy in the Mediterranean as crewmen and/or marines; instead, the most skilled freemen were selected for service (Christides, 1982, 78 ff.). Obviously, a good number of those serving in the Byzantine and Arab navies were recruited from the experienced sailors of merchant ships. (See the transformation of ναῦται to πλόϊμοι in ships in H. Ahrweiler, 1978, 267). Similarly, in the Byzantine and Arab merchant fleets slaves were only used for the specific tasks described above. Slaves living in harsh conditions – under the whip of their masters and ill-fed – were a common feature of seafaring in the Mediterranean much later, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

A systematic comparison between all the important points in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's text and all relevant passages in the Byzantine sources is needed to illuminate many aspects of seafaring in the Eastern Mediterranean in the tenth century.

Suffice it to say here that in spite of the differences between Byzantine and Arab maritime practices, we can discern many obvious similarities. Thus, in addition to the similarities in the use of slaves on board, we notice that on both sides there are parallel functions of the shipowners, shipmasters, captains, and shipowners' representatives. In both Arabic and Byzantine sources these functions are overlapping and occasionally confused.

Finally it should be said that Muḥammad bn. 'Umar, in his efforts to cite examples of maritime legal problems, unfortunately finds it convenient to refer mainly to shipping on the routes between Sicily, North Africa and

Alexandria, while neglecting the islands of Crete and Cyprus. The town Mahdiyya in North Africa, very active as a trade center at this period, appears prominently. (For the Fatimid Mahdiyya see L. Golvin, 1979 and M. Talbi, 1991). Cyprus at that time was a very important trade center bridging the Arab and Byzantine worlds.

A passage in the *History* of Yaḥyā bn. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī reveals how immediately after the conquest of Crete the Byzantines turned their attention to Cyprus and simultaneously emphasizes the commercial importance of Cyprus to both the Arabs and the Byzantines until its reunion with the Byzantine Empire in 965. (Yaḥyā bn. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. and trans. J. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, 1957, 794; on Cyprus at that time, with all the relevant bibliography, see the recent article by A. Cameron, forthcoming).

The present article has focused on navigation and leaves open the various problems concerning Arab sea trade in the tenth century – chartering practices, partnership, etc. – which are discussed in Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treatise. I hope that someone else will undertake this task. The information of Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treatise would surely enrich our knowledge of the vital Islamic commercial techniques. (For these techniques see the relevant material in A.L. Udovitch, 1970; J.E. Dotson, 1969, and J.H. Pryor, 1987).

Muḥammad bn. 'Umar's treatise is of paramount importance because it is not simply a bookish work reproducing previous sources, but actually it is written by an author who was a great traveller himself. Born – according to the most reliable sources – in the Emirate of Crete from a father who was a *faqīh* from Spain, he had travelled extensively in all the ports which he describes in his work and he had observed many of the commercial transactions which appear in his work.

Finally it should be noted again that the present author believes that M.A. Taher's view that the author of the *Kitāb Akriyah as-Sufun* was Muḥammad bn. 'Umar is correct. Certain paraphernalia of less importance were added to the original work by Ibn abī Firas. A different view has been expressed by Jorge Lirola Delgado who points out that a person mentioned in the *Akriyah,* i.e. the Andalusian Muhammad b. Abi Zamanin, died after Muḥammad bn. 'Umar (+912 or 923) in 1009 (Delgado, 1992, 349 ff.). Most probably the name of this person is a later addition. Nevertheless, Delgado's work is a very valuable one which reports some Arabic sources with important references to legal aspects of navigation.

V. CHRISTIDES
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POSTSCRIPT.

I have just been informed that a structure dating from the time of the Arab occupation of Crete was found in the old town of Heracleion; seventy-five Arab coins were discovered in it.

APPENDIX A*

وسئل أبو محمد بن أبي زيد ، عن قوم شحنوا في
سفينة متاعاً لهم بكراء معلوم من جزيرة صقلية إلى المهديّة
فجرت السفينة حتى أرسوا بقليبية من بر إفريقية ، ثم
إنها جرت من ذلك الموضع تريد المهديّة فدخل عليها ريح غير
الريح الذي كانوا يجرون بها ، وأخذهم هول البحر فرموا
من حمْل السفينة . ورجعوا إلى جزيرة صقلية مغلوبين
يفرعوا بها . هل على أصحاب المتاع شيء أم لا ، وكيف أن
فسد بعض ما في السفينة وكيف يكون الحكم بينهم فيما بقي
فاسداً بما[؟] أفسد البحر أو كان فساده بعد الرمي أو
قبله ؟ وهل تُقوَّم السفينة ؟ وكيف أن نزل قوم في
هذا البر المذكور من افريقية هل عليهم كرائهم ؟ وان نزلوا
بغير متاع ليذهبوا إلى المهدية إلى أن يلحقهم متاعهم ؟ وهل
على الأحرار قيمة فيما رمي كما على العبيد ؟ وقتل العبيد
عندك سواء المسلم والكافر ؟

قال : لا يحسب شيء مما رمي على رسم الأحرار الراكبين في
السفينة ولا على نواتيها وخدمها كانوا عبيداً أو أحراراً ، ويحسب
على كل ما فيها للتجارة من الطعام والمتاع والعبيد كان العبيد مسلمين
أو كافرين ، ولا يحسب على خدم المركب منه شيء ، فأما الكراء فإنهم
إذا رجعوا إلى الموضع الذي منه ركبوا منه فلا كراء على أحد في
السفينة في نفسه ولا فيما حمل .

* I would like to thank Professor C.E. Bosworth for his suggestions concerning the translation of these appendices. Of course, any errors are my own.

Abū Muḥammad bn. Abī Zayd asked about the case of a group of people who loaded some freight on a ship with an arranged rent (leasing), which would sail from the island of Sicily to Mahdiyya. The ship sailed on until it anchored at Qalibya in the land of Ifriqiya. Thereafter, she sailed from this place aiming at Mahdiyya but she encountered a wind contrary to the required wind. They were seized with fear of the sea and they jettisoned part of the ship's cargo. Then they returned to the island of Sicily disconsolate and in panic.

Are the owners of the freight responsible or not? And what will happen if part of the merchandise in the ship perishes? And what will be the [legal] decision concerning what has been damaged by the sea or what was damaged before or after jettisoning? Is the ship still liable? And what about if some of the above-mentioned crew land on this land of Africa? Are they liable for the hire? And [suppose that] they land without any goods in order to go to Mahdiyya and the goods then catch up with them? [Are they then liable] for the free people, as for slaves, amongst what has been jettisoned? Likewise, is compensability to be paid in an equal proportion for the slaves, whether they are Moslems or infidels?

He said: There is no compensation liable by the free passengers on board for what was jettisoned nor for the sailors and the servants of the boat, whether the latter were free or slaves. Compensation is [only] due for the whole of the merchandise of food, goods and slaves, whether the latter are Moslems or infidels. Nor are the ship's crew to be charged anything at all.

Concerning the hiring fee, if they return to the place from where they embarked, no charge to be imposed on any of the passengers, personally or on their goods.

... وذكر أبو محمد في كتابه عن ابن عبدوس في قوم اكتروا
مركباً من الاسكندرية إلى طرابلس أو غيرها فذهبت بهم ريح
إلى سوسة ومع المتاع ربه أو وكيله ، وهو من أهل
طرابلس أو غيرها . فقال: ذلك سواء فإن شاء أخرج متاعه
بسوسة لا كراء عليه لزيادة المسافة وان شاء الرجوع
إلى طرابلس بالمتاع خاصة أو بنفسه خاصة ، أو بالأمرين
فذلك له . لأنه شرطه ولا ينظر إلى غلاء المتاع بسوسة
ولا إلى رخصه .

APPENDIX B

Abū Muḥammad mentioned in his book, relating from Ibn 'Abdūs: [Suppose that] some people hired a ship to sail from Alexandria as far as Tripoli or elsewhere, and the wind led them towards Susa in [Libya], and with the cargo was its owner or his agent, and he himself is from the city of Tripoli or another city. He said: "It is the same thing whether he wishes to discharge his luggage at Susa without any extra payment for hiring because of the extra amount of travel, or if he wishes to return to Tripoli with the cargo specifically or by himself specifically, or both; he is at liberty to do so because it is provided by the agreement, and no account is to be taken of any increase or decrease in the amount of cargo going to Susa.

مسئلة قال ابو الفضل محمد بن يحيى فى المركب يهول علية البحر
فيرمى منه بعض حمولته ويرمى بعضهم من آلة المركب مثل الاحبل
والمراسي وغير ذلك ؟

قال : ما طُرِحَ من التجارات فهو مفضوض على ما بقي
ويكونون في ذلك شُركاء ، وما طُرِحَ من آلة المركب وهو
في ضمان من طرحه لا يشركه فيه أحد . وقال محمد بن أبي
زمنين ما كان من حرف المركب من قارب أو حبال أو مِرْجل
فإن ذلك يُقوَّم على صاحب السفينة كذلك رأيتُه لبعض
شيوخنا وهو خارج عن أصولهم وأما القلوع والأطراف التي لا
تخلص المركب ولا شيئ على صاحب المركب فيها . انتهت .

APPENDIX C

Abūl Faḍl Muḥammad stated the following question: [How about a ship menaced by the sea which jettisons parts of its freight and jettisons part of the ship's equipment, as for example ropes, anchors, and other similar things?]

Whatever has been jettisoned from the merchandise, [the cost] is shared by those who remain and the responsibility is shared. Whatever is jettisoned of the equipment of the ship is the responsibility of the one who jettisoned it any nobody else shares this responsibility.

And Muḥammad bn. Alī Zamanayn said: Whatever there is of the equipment of the ship, such as a dinghy, ropes or a cooking pot, all these are the responsibility of the owner of the ship. This is his opinion based on the views of some of our shaikhs, drawing on their basic principles; but as for the masts and external parts of the ship, the shipmaster has no responsibility.

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Ασσάμ (ΒΑ Ινδία): Η πύλη από και προς Κίνα

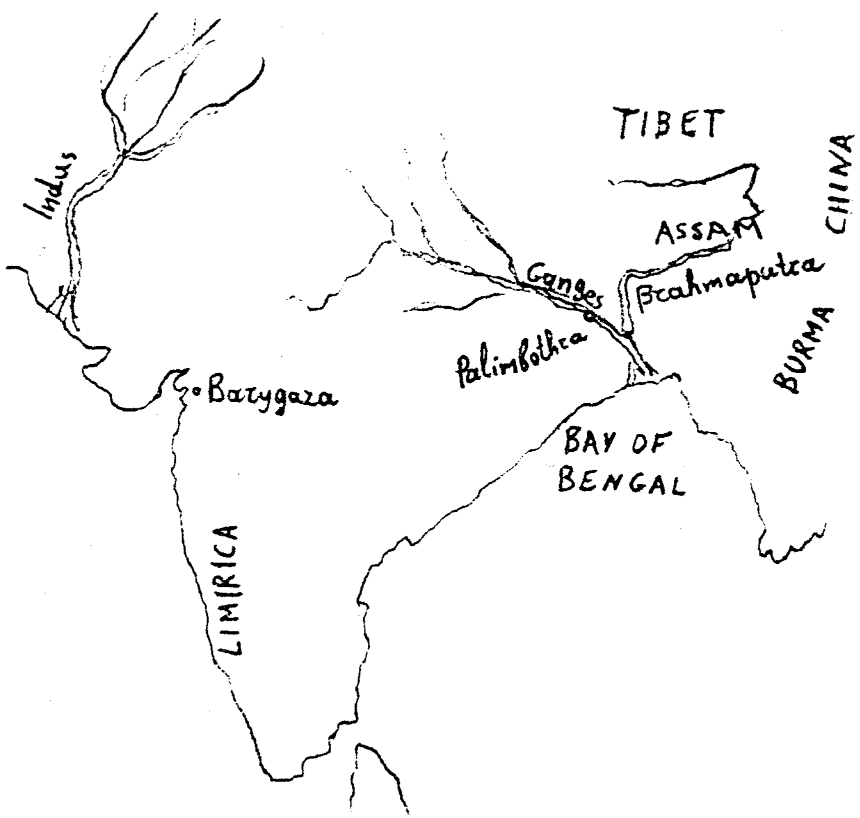
Στο έργο *Περίπλους της Ερυθράς θαλάσσης* (τέλος Α΄ μ.Χ. αι.), όπου υπάρχουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για το εμπόριο στον Ινδικό ωκεανό, ο ανώνυμος συγγραφέας τοποθετεί βόρεια των εκβολών του Γάγγη τις Θίνες (προφανώς την Κίνα) από την οποία "τό τε ἔριον καὶ τὸ νῆμα καὶ τὸ ὀθόνιον τὸ Σηρικὸν εἰς τὰ Βαρύγαζα διὰ Βάκτρων πεζῇ φέρεται καὶ εἰς τὴν Λιμυρικὴν (δυτική ακτή της Ινδίας) πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ"[1]. Στο ίδιο σημείο του έργου γίνεται λόγος για τους Σησάτας ἔθνος "τῷ σώματι κολοβοὶ (δηλ. κοντοί) καὶ σφόδρα πλατυπρόσωποι", που κάθε χρόνο πηγαίνουν σε περιοχή των συνόρων της Θινός για εμπορικούς λόγους. Ο λαός αυτός συσχετίσθηκε με τους *Βησείδες* του Πτολεμαίου και τους *Βηδσάδες* του Βίου των Βραγμάνων[2] και τοποθετούνται στο σημερινό Assam, περιοχή ανατολικά του Γάγγη, που διαρρέεται από τον ποταμό Βραχμαπούτρα. Μολονότι υπάρχουν ορισμένες αμφιβολίες, φαίνεται πως ο ήρωας του έργου *Βίος των Βραγμάνων,* κάποιος Θηβαίος σχολαστικός, έφθασε ως εκεί[2α].

Ο δρόμος από τον οποίο, σύμφωνα με τον Περίπλου της Ερυθράς, γινόταν η μεταφορά του μεταξιού, "διὰ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ", πρέπει να περνούσε από το Assam, αφού ο δρόμος κατά μήκος του Βραχμαπούτρα, ως το σημείο που ο ποταμός τρέπεται δυτικά, αποτελεί συνέχεια του Γάγγη. Πρόκειται προφανώς για το δρόμο που αναφέρεται

1. *C. Müller.* Geographi Graeci minores, τ. Β΄, Paris, 1855 (φωτοαν. έκδ. Hildesheim), σ. 303-304.

2. *B. Berg,* The letter of Palladius on India: Byzantion 44 (1974) 5 κ.ε. Πρόκειται για κείμενο που έχει γραφτεί από κάποιον Παλλάδιο (γνωστό ως Commonitorium Palladii), ενταγμένο στο μυθιστόρημα του Ψευδοκαλλισθένη για τον Μέγα Αλέξανδρο.

2α. *Μιχ. Κορδώση,* Η Ελληνική παρουσία στον Ινδικό κατά την πρωτοβυζαντινή εποχή. "Ιστορικογεωγραφικά" τ. Γ΄ (1989-91), υπό έκδοση.



στον Πτολεμαίο ότι οδηγεί από την Κίνα στην Ινδία μέσω Παλίμβοθρας[3]. Αν τώρα προσέξουμε το κείμενο του Κοσμά του Ινδικοπλεύστη για την Τζίνιστα (Κίνα) θα διαπιστώσουμε ότι η επικοινωνία με την τελευταία γινόταν μέσω του δρόμου αυτού και όχι γύρω-γύρω, από τη Μαλαϊκή χερσόνησο. Πράγματι ο Κοσμάς αναφέρει ότι η χώρα του μεταξιού βρίσκεται στο αριστερό μέρος του Ινδικού πελάγους πιο πέρα από τον Περσικό κόλπο και την Κεϋλάνη[4]. Πιο κάτω, ο Κοσμάς διευκρινίζει ότι όσο διάστημα ο Περσικός κόλπος εισχωρεί στην Περσία τόσο και ακόμη περισσότερο χρειάζεται όποιος κατευθύνεται αριστερά για

3. *Ptolemaei Claudii.* Geographia, έκδ. C.F.A. Nobbe, Leipzig 1845 (ανατύπ. Hildesheim 1966) I 17.20 (σ. 36).
4. *Cosmas Indicopleustes,* Topographie chrétienne, έκδ. W. Wolska-Conus, τ. Γ΄, Paris, 1968, σ. 353.

να εισέλθει στην Τζίνιστα. Η κατεύθυνση, λοιπόν, που πρέπει να πάρει ο ταξιδιώτης εισερχόμενος στον Ινδικό ωκεανό (προς τα αριστερά) και κυρίως η απόσταση (περισσότερο απ' όσο ο Περσικός κόλπος εισχωρεί στην Περσία), που μπορεί να εκτιμηθεί ως όχι πολύ μεγάλη, μας πείθει, νομίζω, ότι ο Κοσμάς τοποθετούσε την Κίνα στο εσωτερικό του κόλπου της Βεγγάλης, στο ανατολικότερο τμήμα της οικουμένης (αφού αναφέρει ότι βρέχεται από τον ωκεανό). Ήταν φυσικό, επομένως, να φθάσει κανείς εκεί μέσω του χερσαίου δρόμου που καταλήγει στον Γάγγη και όχι μέσω του μακρού περιφερειακού, εξολοκλήρου θαλασσινού δρόμου.

Αποφασιστικής σημασίας για τη χάραξη του δρόμου προς την Κίνα αποτελούν τα οδοιπορικά της εποχής από το ανατολικότερο άκρο της γης ως το Ρωμαϊκό κράτος. Ένα τέτοιο οδοιπορικό αποτελεί το πρώτο μέρος του γνωστού έργου *Expositio totius mundi et Gentium,* ανωνύμου συγγραφέα των μέσων του Δ΄ αιώνα μ.Χ. Το οδοιπορικό αρχίζει με το μυθικό λαό των Καμαρινών που βρίσκεται στο ανατολικότερο μέρος της γης, όπου ρέει ένα πολύ μεγάλο ποτάμι. Η αφήγηση για τον λαό αυτό είναι τελείως εξωπραγματική. Οι κάτοικοι της περιοχής, αναφέρεται, είναι πολύ ευσεβείς και σ' αυτούς δεν μπορεί κανείς να συναντήσει σωματικό ή ψυχικό ελάττωμα. Δεν χρησιμοποιούν ούτε το κοινό ψωμί, ούτε τη φωτιά, αλλά παίρνουν ένα ποτό φτιαγμένο από άγριο μέλι και πιπέρι. Στη χώρα τους ο ήλιος καίει τόσο πολύ που λένε ότι υπάρχει κίνδυνος να καούν αν δεν πέσουν στο ποτάμι όση ώρα κρατά η ζέστη... Τα ρούχα που φοράνε δεν λερώνονται κι αν καμιά φορά συμβαίνει κάτι τέτοιο, τα βάζουν σε φλόγες φωτιάς για να καθαριστούν. (Πρόκειται βέβαια για το ένδυμα "άσβεστος", το οποίο συναντάται και σε κινεζικές πηγές ως ένδυμα των κατοίκων της Άπω Δύσης). Οι Καμαρινοί δεν σπέρνουν ούτε θερίζουν. Στον τόπο τους υπάρχει πλήθος από πολύτιμους λίθους που βρίσκονται στα βουνά. Ο ποταμός, πηγάζοντας από τα όρη, παρασύρει στο ρεύμα του κομμάτια από τους πολύτιμους λίθους που οι κάτοικοι μαζεύουν με τη βοήθεια διχτυών. Δεν υποφέρουν ούτε αρρωσταίνουν και γνωρίζουν πότε θα πεθάνουν. "Πράγματι, πεθαίνουν μεταξύ 118 και 120 ετών κι έτσι οι μεγαλύτεροι δε βλέπουν ποτέ το θάνατο των μικρότερων". Ο καθένας ξέρει τη μέρα που θα πεθάνει, φτιάχνει μια σαρκοφάγο με διάφορα αρωματικά ξύλα, αποχαιρετά όλους τους παρευρισκόμενους και περιμένει το θάνατο με γαλήνη[5].

5. *Expositio* totius mundi et gentium, έκδ. J. Rougé, Paris 1966 (Sources Chrétiennes, αρ. 124) σ. 143 κ.ε.

Ύστερα από τους Καμαρινούς, ερχόμενοι προς τη Δύση, ο ανώνυμος τοποθετεί τους Βραχμάνες οι οποίοι διάγουν τον ίδιο τρόπο ζωής και κατέχουν τα ίδια αγαθά με τον προηγούμενο λαό. Στη συνέχεια ο ανώνυμος, στην πορεία του προς την Ινδία και την Αιθιοπία, μνημονεύει κι άλλους λαούς οι οποίοι είναι δύσκολο να ταυτιστούν[6] και των οποίων καθώς παρατηρήθηκε, "ο τρόπος και η ποιότητα της ζωής τους φαίνονται, καθώς προχωρούμε από την ανατολή προς τη δύση, να εκφυλίζονται κατά το σχήμα της χρυσής εποχής και των διαδόχων της[6α]". Καμαρινοί, Βραχμάνες και όλοι οι λαοί δυτικά, ως το Ρωμαϊκό κράτος, αναφέρονται και στο μικρό έργο *Οδοιπορία από Εδέμ του Παραδείσου άχρι των Ρωμαίων,* με μικρές διαφορές[7]. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η ονομασία των πρώτων. Μνημονεύονται ως "Μακαρινοί" και Εδέμ και η περιγραφή της χώρας τους είναι εκείνη του Παραδείσου[8]. Η ουτοπική δηλ. αφήγηση της Expositio έγινε ακόμη ουτοπικότερη και η ονομασία Καμαρινοί έγινε Μακαρινοί δηλ. Μακάριοι, που ζούσαν στην Εδέμ.

Ουτοπικά-ιδεαλιστικά στοιχεία βρίσκουμε και σ' άλλους δυτικούς συγγραφείς (Πλίνιο, Αμμιανό Μαρκελίνο, Ψευδοκαισάριο κλπ.) για τους Ινδούς και ιδιαίτερα για τους Σήρες. Μερικά από τα στοιχεία αυτά βρίσκονται και σε κινεζικά κείμενα που κάνουν λόγο για το δυτικότερο κράτος της τότε γνωστής οικουμένης, είτε υπάγονται στις κινεζικές δυναστικές ιστορίες, όπου βρίσκονται και πραγματικά στοιχεία[9], είτε σε ιδεαλιστικά κείμενα, όπου σχεδόν τίποτε δεν ανταποκρίνεται

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6. *Expositio,* ό.π., σ. 149 κ.ε.: *Eviltes, Emer, Nebus, Disaph, Choneum, Diva, India Major, Exomia, India Minor, Persae, Saraceni.*

6a. *H. Hunger,* Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία, τ. Α΄ (μετ. Λ. Μπενάκη, Ι. Αναστασίου, Γ. Μακρή), Αθήνα 1987, σ. 372.

7. *Alfred Klotz,* Ὀδοιπορία ἀπό Ἐδέμ τοῦ Παραδείσου ἄχρι τῶν Ρωμαίων: "Reinisches Museum für Philologie, 65 (1910) 608-609. Τα αντίστοιχα ονόματα είναι: Εὐϊλάτ, Ἰεμήρ, Νέκους, Δισιμανεῖς, Χῶναι, Διαβά, Ἰνδία μεγάλη, Ἀξωμία, Ἰνδία μικρά, Περσίς, Σαρακηνοί.

8. *A. Klotz,* ό.π., σ. 608: "Ἐδὲμ καὶ οἱ Μακαρινοὶ ἐκκλησίαν μίαν ἔχουσιν, ἄνθραξ ὄρος μονόλιθον, ἑπτὰ μίλια μῆκος, τρία πλάτος· ἔχει ἑπτὰ θυσιαστήρια· τὸ βῆμα αὐτοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο βαθμῶν, ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ποταμὸς ἐκ τὸν παράδεισον, ἐκεῖθεν μερίζεται εἰς τεσσάρεις ἀρχάς· ἐκβαίνουσιν δὲ Γεὼν καὶ Φισὼν ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, Τίγρις καὶ Εὐφράτης ἐπὶ βορράν. ἡ δὲ τροφὴ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπων ὀπώρα καὶ μέλι ἄγριον καὶ ἄλευρον ἐαρινὸν καὶ μάννα. τὸ μάννα ἄρχεται βρέχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα μέχρι ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ. ἐξέρχεται δὲ καὶ ἐκ τὸν παράδεισον ὡς ἀὴρ ὁμίχλης ἄλευρος καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν διοικοῦνται ἀεὶ καὶ πάντοτε. οὔτε οἱ οὗτοι θερίζουσιν οὐδὲ σπείρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐν δοξολογίᾳ θεοῦ εἰσιν, οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι".

9. *F. Hirth,* China and the Roman Orient, Leipsig-München-Shangai-Hongkong 1885, σ. 33 κ.ε.

στην πραγματικότητα[10]. Τα τελευταία μπορούμε να τα κατατάξουμε στην ίδια κατηγορία με την αφήγηση της *Expositio* και της *Οδοιπορίας* για τους Καμαρινούς ή Μακαρινούς.

Σχετικά με τα κινεζικά κείμενα μπορούμε να πούμε, οριστικά πια, ότι το μυστηριώδες κράτος της Άπω Δύσης που ονομάζεται Ta-ch'in και σε αρχαιότερη εποχή Li-kan ταυτίζεται με το κράτος που βρίσκεται δυτικά του Ευφράτη είτε πρόκειται για το κράτος των Σελευκιδών, των Ρωμαίων ή των Βυζαντινών[11]. Επίσης, όσα κείμενα δυτικών συγγραφέων κάνουν λόγο για τους Σήρες, γνωρίζουμε, τουλάχιστο, ότι το όνομά τους είναι πραγματικό, μολονότι οι αφηγήσεις γι' αυτούς περιέχουν πάρα πολλά μυθικά στοιχεία. Το ερώτημα που τίθεται τώρα είναι αν το εθνικό Καμαρινοί-Μακαρινοί ανταποκρίνεται σε όνομα πραγματικού λαού ή είναι πλάσμα της φαντασίας των χριστιανών συγγραφέων που τοποθετούσαν εκεί τους Μακαρίους, δηλ. την Εδέμ. Η Pigulewskajia κλίνει προς την τελευταία άποψη[12], πρέπει όμως να σημειώσουμε ότι η δεύτερη κατά σειρά περιοχή, εκείνη των σοφών Βραχμάνων, μνημονεύεται και σε άλλες πηγές και τοποθετείται πειστικά στην περιοχή του Γάγγη ποταμού. Έτσι, μερικοί θεωρούν τους Καμαρινούς ως πραγματικό λαό, όπως τους Βραχμάνες (με τους οποίους εξάλλου έχουν κοινά χαρακτηριστικά[13]) και τους τοποθετούν στη νότια Ινδοκίνα, συσχετίζοντάς τους με τα ονόματα Ambari, Qimar και τους γνωστούς μας Khmer[14].

Εάν ληφθεί υπόψη ότι οι Βραχμάνες μνημονεύονται αμέσως μετά τους Καμαρινούς και ότι οι πρώτοι τοποθετούνται στην περιοχή του Γάγγη ποταμού, οι δεύτεροι πρέπει να αναζητηθούν ανατολικότερα. Νομίζω, λοιπόν, ότι πρόκειται για το σημερινό Ασσάμ, την ανατολικότερη επαρχία της σημερινής Ινδίας, για το οποίο μιλήσαμε παραπάνω, που στην αρχαιότητα ονομαζόταν *Καμαρούπα.* Από το Ασσάμ, βαδίζοντας κανείς ανατολικά, εισέρχεται στην κυρίως Κίνα. Η ταύτιση των

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10. *Henri Maspero,* Un texte taoiste sur l'Orient Romain: "Mélanges posthumes (Henri Maspero) sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine", III. Études Historiques, Paris 1950, σ. 102 κ.ε.

11. *M. Kordosis,* Introduction to the Greek-Chinese Studies (υπό έκδοση).

12. *N. Pigulewskaja,* Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien, Berlin 1969, σ. 100-101: "*μάκαρ* "selig" und *ἰνέω* "leer machen, in Ordnung bringein, reinigen". Er bedeutet also sovielwie "Seilige und Gereinigte" und entspricht dem Begriff der Reiningung, der in den indischen Religionen bei der Lehre von der Askese eine so bedeutende Rolle spielt".

13. Σε Γεωργιανή μετάφραση της *Οδοιπορίας,* οι κάτοικοι της Εδέμ ονομάζονται και Γυμνοσοφιστές. *Z. Avalichvili,* Géographie et légende dans un écrit apocryphe de Saint Basile, "Revue de l'Orient Chretien", τ. 26 (1927-28) 280.

14. *Expositio,* ό.π., σ. 66. Real Encyl. III 1897, στ. 1425.

Καμαρινών με το Καμαρούπα (Ασσάμ) πρέπει να θεωρηθεί ως βέβαιη, γιατί το όνομα συναντάται σε Άραβες συγγραφείς ως *Kamrun*[15]. Ο Ferrand παρατηρεί ότι αυτός ο τύπος (Kamrun αντί Kamrub) συναντάται σε όλες τις εκδόσεις αραβικών κειμένων[16]. Καταλαβαίνουμε τώρα, ότι η σωστή ονομασία είναι Καμαρινοί και ο τύπος Μακαρινοί σχηματίσθηκε από την ταύτιση της περιοχής αυτής με τον Παράδεισο. Βλέπουμε λοιπόν ότι χρησιμοποιήθηκε όνομα πραγματικού λαού που περιβλήθηκε από σωρεία μύθων που έχουν σχέση με την Εδέμ της Αγίας Γραφής. Όπως αναφέραμε, ήδη, κάτι παρόμοιο ισχύει και για τα κινεζικά κείμενα που μιλούν για την Άπω Δύση.

Πρέπει να παρατηρήσουμε ότι δεν χρησιμοποιήθηκε το όνομα των Σινών που εθεωρείτο ο ανατολικότερος λαός την περίοδο που προηγείται του Α΄ μ.Χ. αιώνα ή τη μεσαιωνική περίοδο κατά την οποία παρατηρείται υποχώρηση των γεωγραφικών γνώσεων. Χρησιμοποιήθηκε το όνομα ενδιάμεσου λαού, περιβεβλημένο με μυθικά στοιχεία που ταίριαζαν στο θρησκευτικό πνεύμα της εποχής. Γνωρίζοντας ότι μιλάμε για οδοιπορικό, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι και αυτή τη σκοτεινή για τη γεωγραφία εποχή ανάμεσα στον Γ΄ και τον Ε΄ αιώνα τα ταξίδια προς την Άπω Ανατολή δεν έλειψαν τελείως· συσχετίζοντας, μάλιστα, τα κείμενα των οδοιπορικών με όσα αναφέραμε στην αρχή για τους Βησσάδες, λαό της περιοχής του Ασσάμ, συμπεραίνουμε ότι την εποχή αυτή ο δρόμος μέσω της χώρας αυτής είχε κερδίσει σε σπουδαιότητα, σε σύγκριση με τον μακρύτερο περιφερειακό δρόμο.

Η πορεία λοιπόν που χαράσσουν τα οδοιπορικά είναι πραγματική και όχι φανταστική. Αρχίζουν ακριβώς από τη νοτιοδυτική πύλη της Κίνας, από το Ασσάμ, και προχωρούν δυτικά προς το Ρωμαϊκό κράτος. Ο πρώτος λαός οι Καμαρινοί δε βρίσκονται σε κυρίως ινδικό έδαφος. Για να φθάσεις στους Βραχμάνες, στο Γάγγη, σύμφωνα με την *Οδοιπορία*, παίρνεις την "ὁδὸν παρά τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν λεγόμενον Φισών"[17]. Πρόκειται, προφανώς, για το δρόμο που ακολουθεί το ρεύμα του Βραχμαπούτρα, ο οποίος μπορεί να θεωρηθεί και παραπόταμος του Γάγγη, αφού τα νερά τους συναντώνται λίγο πριν από την εκβολή τους στον κόλπο της Βεγγάλης, ή για το ρεύμα του ίδιου του Γάγγη. Από τους Βραχμάνες και πέρα, ως τη Μεγάλη Ινδία, τα ονόματα των λαών είναι δύσκολο να ταυτιστούν, νομίζω, όμως, ότι τουλάχιστο τα περισσότερα, αν όχι όλα, ανταποκρίνονται σε πραγματικά ονόματα, ορισμένα όμως συσχετίζονται με λαούς της Αγίας Γραφής (π.χ. και το τρίτο όνομα, Ευιλάτ).

15. *G. Ferrand*, Relations de voyages et textes geographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks, relatifs à l'extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles, τ. Α΄, Paris 1913, σ. 23-29.

16. *G. Ferrand*, ό.π., σ. 23, σημ. 5.

17. *A. Klotz*, ό.π., σ. 608.

Ερχόμενοι, τώρα, στις Κινεζικές πηγές, διαπιστώνουμε ότι οδοιπορικά της εποχής αναφέρουν πως το Ασσάμ (προφανώς η πρωτεύουσά του Gauhati) αποτελεί έναν από τους σταθμούς του δρόμου που από το Αννάμ, σημερινό βόρειο Βιετνάμ, οδηγούσε στην Ινδία με κατεύθυνση βορειοδυτική[18]. Τα οδοιπορικά αυτά είναι λίγο μεταγενέστερα· ανήκουν στην εποχή της δυναστείας των T'ang και συγκεκριμένα στο τέλος του Η΄ αιώνα. Το Ασσάμ (Καμαρούπα) μνημονεύεται ως Kia-mo-po και Ko-mo-lou.

Σε προγενέστερα κινεζικά χρονικά υπάρχουν, επίσης, ενδείξεις υπέρ της χρήσεως του δρόμου αυτού. Είναι γνωστό ότι ο πρώτος Κινέζος απεσταλμένος Tchang K'ien, ο οποίος έφθασε στην Βακτριανή γύρω στο 130 π.Χ., συνάντησε κινεζικά προϊόντα των επαρχιών Yun-nan και Sseu-tch'ouan, για τα οποία πληροφορήθηκε ότι έφθαναν ως εκεί με καραβάνια, μέσω Ινδίας. Οπωσδήποτε τα προϊόντα αυτά έπρεπε να περνούσαν από τη βόρεια Βιρμανία και το Ασσάμ.

Από την ιστορία της νεότερης δυναστείας των Χαν (25-220 μ.Χ.) μαθαίνουμε ότι το 120 μ.Χ. ο βασιλιάς της χώρας Shan έστειλε πρεσβεία στον Κινέζο αυτοκράτορα στον οποίο πρόσφερε μουσικούς και ταχυδακτυλουργούς από τη χώρα Ta-ch'in (την εποχή αυτή, οι ανατολικές επαρχίες του Ρωμαϊκού κράτους) οι οποίοι δήλωσαν ότι για να πάει κανείς εκεί περνάει από το νοτιοδυτικό μέρος της χώρας Shan[19]. Σε άλλο σημείο του ίδιου χρονικού γίνεται λόγος για τους τρεις δρόμους που ένωναν την Κίνα με τη Δύση. Αναφέρεται ο χερσαίος δρόμος, ο γνωστός μας δρόμος του μεταξιού, ο περιφερειακός, εξολοκλήρου θαλασσινός, δρόμος και ένας υδάτινος δρόμος μέσω του σημερινού Yünnan (νότια Κίνα). Ίσως πρόκειται για τον υδάτινο δρόμο των μεγάλων ποταμών της Ινδοκίνας που χύνονται κοντά στη Ραγκούν. Ο δρόμος αυτός προφανώς πρέπει να είναι ο ίδιος με εκείνον που περνούσε από το νοτιοδυτικό μέρος της χώρας Shan, αφού μάλιστα, σήμερα, περιοχή με αυτό το όνομα συναντάται στο ανατολικό τμήμα της Βιρμανίας. Αν πιστέψουμε, όμως, τον Pelliot, ο οποίος γράφει ότι οι Shan είχαν ιδρύσει πριγκιπάτο στο άνω Ασσάμ[20], ίσως πρέπει να δεχθούμε ότι

18. *P. Pelliot*, Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII siècle: "Bulletin de l'École Français d'Extrême-Orient", 4 (1904) 371.

19. *F. Hirth*, ό.π., σ. 37.

20. *P. Pelliot*, ό.π., σ. 179.

πρόκειται για το δρόμο που περνούσε από τη χώρα αυτή μέσω Βραχμαπούτρα.

Είναι πιθανό από το Ασσάμ να πέρασε κατά την επιστροφή του από την Κίνα ο έμπορος Ts'in-lun, ο οποίος, σύμφωνα με τη δυναστική ιστορία των Liang (502-556 μ.Χ.) ήταν έμπορος από το Ta-ch'in, που ήρθε στην Κίνα το έτος 226 μ.Χ., μέσω του βόρειου Βιετνάμ, του περιφερειακού δηλ. δρόμου. Κατά το γυρισμό του ο Ts'in-lun μπορεί να μην πήρε τον ίδιο δρόμο αλλά εκείνον που περνούσε από το Ασσάμ, αφού αναφέρεται ότι γύρισε "κατ' ευθείαν" στην πατρίδα του. Εξ άλλου τον συντρόφευσαν 20 νάνοι που συνδυάζονται με Βησσάδες οι οποίοι, όπως αναφέραμε παραπάνω, κατοικούσαν στο Ασσάμ και σύμφωνα με τις ελληνικές πηγές ήταν πολύ μικρού αναστήματος.

Απ' όλα όσα αναφέραμε παραπάνω, μπορούμε να συμπεράνουμε ότι ελληνολατινικές και κινεζικές πηγές, ιδιαίτερα οδοιπορικά, πιστοποιούν ότι ένας από τους δρόμους που ένωνε την Κίνα με την Ινδία και το δυτικό κόσμο περνούσε από το Ασσάμ. Ο δρόμος αυτός ήταν δυσκολότερος από τον περιφερειακό δρόμο, αφού περνούσε μέσα από βουνά, έλη, ποτάμια και δάση αλλά είχε το πλεονέκτημα να είναι συντομότερος. Έτσι, φαίνεται ότι κέρδιζε σε σπουδαιότητα κατά τις περιόδους παρακμής της ναυτιλίας. Αντίθετα, ο περιφερειακός, εξολοκλήρου θαλασσινός, δρόμος χρησιμοποιόταν περισσότερο σε εποχές θαλασσοκρατίας ενός ή περισσοτέρων λαών· το Β΄ μ.Χ. αιώνα, περίοδος της ρωμαϊκής και τους Η΄-Ι΄ αιώνες, περίοδος της αραβικής θαλασσοκρατίας.

ΜΙΧ. Σ. ΚΟΡΔΩΣΗΣ

Early Hellenistic Travel Tales and Arabian Utopias

Of the most intriguing types of ancient novels are those which are designated "fantastic travel tales" (what the Germans call the *reisefabulistik* and the French the *voyage extraordinaire).* Much of the stimulus for this literary genre has been attributed to Alexander the Great's expedition and the creation of the *Alexander Romance,* but they also have an Odyssean-like quality. In fact, Lucian perceptively considered Homer to be the father of this race of "literary liars" *(True History* I.3). Such tales are obviously historical fiction, but they also reveal perceptions of reality that are important, even if they are ascribed to imaginary travelers or based on personal experience that is not verifiable. Two early Hellenistic "travel" novels, both preserved by Diodorus Siculus, are typical of this genre, namely the tales of Euhemerus and Iambulus. In contrast to Petronius' *Satyricon* and Apuleius' *Golden Ass,* which provide a kind of comic reversal of the wanderings of Odysseus or Aeneas, these earlier examples of the literary genre are more idealistic and utopian in nature. Admittedly, they do not approach Plato's political program reflected in his Atlantis, but they do generate conceptions of an ideal world. Whether or not these images were powerful and clear enough to have an impact on political leaders in ancient societies remains a matter of controversy.

The earliest of these travelogues into exotic lands is that of Euhemerus of Messana, a scholarly friend of King Cassander of Macedon (311-298 B.C.), who commissioned him to make a royal journey to the distant south as far as the "Ocean" (D.S. VI.1.4). In the process of his travels, he visited South Arabia, finally arriving at the "Sacred Island" of Panchaia, where he discovered a peculiar race of people. Much of his description appears to be an attempt to provide a political framework for his theory that the known deities were once kings and prominent statesmen. For example, in a temple on the island, he discovered a gold stele that

purportedly recorded the deeds of Uranus, Cronus and Zeus, but in the Cretan language and Egyptian script used by the inhabitants of the island. Euhemerus' account (V, 41-46) is therefore entitled the *Sacred History* (VI.1.11). The island is described as a lush paradise, nourished by a large spring called the "Water of the Sun". On the island, enough frankincense grew to supply all the temples of the world. In fact, all varieties of incense are produced and shipped to Arabia Felix, where they are sold to merchants from Phoencia, Coele-Syria and Egypt. The inhabitants of the island represent a cosmopolitan mix of Cretans, Scythians, Indians, and Oceanites, who are ruled by a king, annual magistrates, and priests. The society of this sun-state is organized into a three-tiered hierarchy of priests, farmers, and soldiers.

A story of a similar nature also preserved by Diodorus (II.55-60) concerns a certain lambulus, a merchant engaged in the spice trade, who is captured on one of his journeys to South Arabia by some brigands, and transported with a companion to Ethiopia, where they were held captive for a period of time. Eventually, they were set adrift in the Red Sea where they sailed south to a blissful island in the Indian Ocean ruled by a strange gangly people with rubbery bones who called their islands and themselves after the Sun. This circular island paradise located near the Equator also enjoyed a temperate climate and was inhabited by all kinds of strange other-wordly animals and birds. The citizens themselves were organized into groups of 400 ruled by the eldest. Several physical features distinguished them from ordinary humans, such as huge openings in their ears and forked tongues that made it possible for them to imitate any sound and carry on two conversations simultaneously. They also lived to 150 years of age without illness. Wives and children were held in common, as a means of eliminating any rivalry or discord, as harmony was the major virtue in this communal state. The language of these islanders is not mentioned, but they were literate, although writing perpendicularly in an alphabet that had only seven characters but 28 different phoenetic values. After seven years on the island, lambulus was forced to leave and travelled on to India, before returning through Persia to his homeland in Greece.

The relations of these utopian island Sun-States with several outbreaks of rebellion during the Hellenistic period has evoked a great deal of discussion and speculation. The first of these occurred during Cassander's reign, when his eccentric younger brother Alexarchus began calling himself "the Sun" *(Helios),* founded the "City of Heaven" or *Uranopolis* on the peninsula of Mount Athos, and issued coins with the

radiant sun as his royal symbol. Aphrodite Urania was chosen as his patron deity, although in the guise of the Near Eastern Mother Goddess, the "Queen of Heaven", who was depicted seated on a globe surrounded by astral symbolism. The coins are inscribed with the word *Uranidai,* the "children of heaven", rather than the expected *uranopolitai,* "citizens of Uranopolis." In addition, for the lingua franca of his realm, Alexarchus invented a "new" language, which was really just an oddly mixed conglomeration of Greek, to judge from the few undecipherable items preserved (Ath. 3.98d-e). Unfortunately, little more is known about this revolutionary Sun-State and even less about another Uranopolis in Pamphylia (Ptol. *Geo.* V.5.6), which may also be associated with Alexarchus' revolution.

Far better known are the events surrounding Attalus III's bequeathal of the kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor to Rome in 133 B.C. Not surprisingly, the royal will that bequeathed the Asian territory to Rome was challenged and eventually provoked a national uprising led by Aristonicus, an illegitimate member of the royal house, who managed to solicit the support of the oppressed poor and slaves of the region in publicizing his a new state in which citizens were called "citizens of the sun" or *Heliopolitai.* Some philosophical support for the rebel state was received from Blossius of Cumae, a Stoic philopher, who fled from Rome after being charged with treason for his involvement in the social reforms of Tiberius Gracchus. Sometime around 132 B.C., he fled to Asia and the court of Aristonicus, obviously as disenchanted with Rome as its citizens were with him. Since it was about this time that Aristonicus began calling his supporters "suncitizens" (Strabo 14.1.38), some have conjectured that Stoic philosophy and perhaps lambulus' sun-state lay behind the nuances of the revolutionary program, although not all have been persuaded by such arguments (Africa 1961). Nevertheless, Rome, with the aid of its allies, the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and various Greek cities in Asia, crushed the rebellion rather quickly. Aristonicus was taken to Rome and executed and Blossius commited suicide (Plutarch, *Tib. Gracchus* 20).

Even before Aristonicus established his Pergamene sun-state, sometime around 140-135 B.C., a rebellion had broken out at the city of Enna in Sicily, considered the "navel" of the island, since it is located deep within the mountainous interior (Cicero, *Verrines* 2.4.106; cf. D.S. V.3.2). The pivotal figure in the revolt was a certain domestic slave named Eunus, who was from Apamea in Syria, and had a reputation as a prophet and magician (D.S. XXXIV.2.5-22). He was also a devotee of the

Syrian mother goddess Atargatis (Astarte), whose main cult center was located at Hierapolis, near Apamea. According to the tradition, Eunus could literally breath fire while in one of his visionary trances (albeit by placing a hollow walnut in his mouth in which burning fuel had been inserted). In fact, in a vision he received just before the outbreak of the revolt, the Syrian goddess allegedly prophesied he would soon become a king. Indeed, when a number of discontented and maltreated slaves at Enna revolted, Eunus provided his divine blessings on the rebellion and was soon declared "king" (D.S. 34.2.15). This Syrian slave then promptly established a royal court, assumed the Seleucid dynastic name of Antiochus (which appears on coins he issued during the revolt; Monganaro 1982), and called his followers "Syrians" (D.S. 34.2.24). Thousands of slaves joined the rebellion, which also precipitated outbreaks of revolts at Rome, Attica and on the island of Delos (D.S. 34.2.19), but by 132 B.C. Rome crushed the rebellion (Bradley 1989: 46-65). In the aftermath, Eunus fled, but was soon captured and executed either at Morgantina (D.S. 34.2.23) or Rome (Plut. *Sulla* 36). Afterwards, consular armies were regularly assigned to the island, indicating the serious threat the rebellion had posed to Roman rule.

Any relations between these political programs and rebellions and the Hellenistic travel narratives contained in Euhemerus' *Sacred History* and Iambulus' *Islands of the Sun* are confounded by chronological difficulties. Euhemerus' voyage is generally placed around 300 B.C., several decades too late for the proposed date of 316/315 for Alexarchus' Heliopolis (Tarn 1948: II, 430 and 434). In contrast, the date for Iambulus' journey enjoys no consensus. Tarn suggested a date between the time of Megasthenes and Aristonichus, i.e. between 290 and 133 B.C., although he preferred a third century date of the adventure (1948: II, 411-412). Others are either more precise, suggesting a date of 250-225 B.C. (Green 1990: 393), or more flexible, placing Iambulus somewhere between Alexander and Augustus (Finley 1975: 182). Since Panaetius and Polybius provide the earliest indications of the theory of a temperate equatorial climate, others have suggested a date between 165-50 B.C., assuming that Iambulus is dependent on this knowledge and not the conveyor of the idea (Winston 1956). Such a wide range of proposed dates has not prevented others from arranging the events and the travel narratives into a precise chronological framework and sequence. For example, it is deemed possible by some that Alexarchus' blueprint for his Heliopolis was Euhemerus' *Sacred History* and that Iambulus' romance may have inspired the Sun-State of Aristonichus in Pergamum

(Ferguson 1975: 110 and 144). Yet it is not just the circular-reasoning that flaws such hypotheses. No ancient writer draws any such connections and any correlation of such fantastic utopian states with political revolutions seems unlikely (Finley 1975: 180). To suggest that an illiterate peasantry or rustic slaves could have been inflamed to rebellion by intellectual literary treatises stretches the imagination for all but a few.

Furthermore, to infuse these fantastic travel tales with political and philosophical interests would be a mistake and any comparison with modern utopian dream societies will by necessity reveal substantial differences (Finley 1975: 185-192). Neither the intentions nor the world-view of the ancient novelists are the same as that of modern writers. Euhemerus and Iambulus actually provide tales of a more traditional type, of Homeric adventures on the periphery of the civilized world, not depictions of utopian societies such as exist in Plato's Atlantis. Parallels are better sought in Odysseus' wanderings among the Phaeacians, or Hecataeaus of Abdera's travels to the island of the Hyperboreans in the Northern Sea, or the tales of Aristeas of Procenessus among the one-eyed Arimaspians. From all of these travelogues it is clear that the Greeks perceived human existence on the boundaries of their world as of another order. In essence, as fascinating as these peripheral societies and cultures may appear, they were not for duplication. Euhemerus' Sun-Island was inhabited by a warlike people and infested with bold and lawless robbers (D.S. 5.46.1), not unlike the world of the Greeks. And Iambulus' island paradise had no place for the physically deformed or morally imperfect. What is contemplated is not a new social order, but a description of a different race of men who transcend ordinary humanity (Winston 1976: 225). Nor should these South Sea insland states be considered "classless societies" (pace Tarn 1948: II, 412; and Vogt 1975: 69), as kings and priests rule over Euhemerus' Sun-State and Iambulus' island society is organized into various groups dominated by the elderly who rule like kings.

If there is any model for the revolutionary sun-states of Alexarchus and Aristonicus, it indoubtedly is in the Hellenistic kingdoms of the East, where Helios was commonly perceived as a god of justice and the protector of the oppressed (Finley 1975: 184). In Ptolemaic Egypt, in particular, sun mythology was common for the pharaohs and kings. Even the Jews in Alexandria in the second century B.C. could cast their messianic hopes in a "king from the Sun" sent by Isis to deliver Egypt from its Asiatic enemies (Sibylline Oracle III.652). Both Eunus' Syrian

State and Aristonicus Sun-State are animated by such Near Eastern models. In fact, Iambulus name and activities have suggested to some that he was a Nabataean Arab (Altheim 1948; Altheim and Stiehl 1964). Emphasis on the sun and the fragrant spices of Arabia also is a traditional Greek motif, embedded with the mythical structure of Hellenic religion (Detienne 1977: 5-35). Neither of the sun-states from the Hellenistic travelogues are then meant for generalization or imitation by other societies, for they are unique. In sum, Eunus and Aristonicus' nationalistic uprisings are more representative of the messianic hopes of a Near Eastern society than Greek intellectual speculations about establishing an ideal society.

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Influences historiques sur l'Afrique Orientale a travers l'Océan Indien

Témoignages

La côte orientale de l'Afrique fut pendant des siècles le théâtre de pénétrations historiques variées qui peuvent être classées sous trois rubriques: *(a)* pénétrations ethniques, *(b)* importations de civilisation matérielle, *(c)* influences linguistiques et culturelles. Les témoignages de ces pénétrations, bien que relativement abondants pour la période moderne, sont rares pour les périodes anciennes, mais affirmatifs. Ils consistent en sources archéologiques, ethnographiques, linguistiques et écrites. Il est évident que le support des influences matérielles et culturelles est la pénétration humaine. Signalons quelques données de cette pénétration. Le *Périple de la Mer Erythrée,* document chronologiquement situé au IIe siècle de notre ère, nous renseigne sur les échanges commerciaux entre la côte sud-ouest de la péninsule arabe et les populations de l'Azanie, le pays qui s'étend au sud-ouest du cap Guardafui. Ce commerce s'accompagnait de relations matrimoniales contractées avec des familles indigènes et d'assimilations linguistiques: *"καὶ ἐπιγαμβρείαν ἔχουσιν ἐμπείροις τε οὖσιν τῶν τόπων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς"* (§ 16). Le *Périple* implique en outre que la région est soumise à la souveraineté de princes arabes et gouvernée par des chefs suzerains. Nous avons là les premiers indices de l'arabisation de ce pays africain et d'une langue bantoue, probablement la forme primitive du Swahili, arabisation intensifiée au cours des siècles et atteignant son apogée dans l'établissement des sultanats arabes de Zanzibar, de Pemba et d'autres localités côtières du continent africain.

NOTE. Rapport présenté au XVIème Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Stuttgart, 25 août - 1er septembre 1985, dans les cadres du Grand thème *"L'Océan Indien".*

La Géographie de Ptolémée fournit des indications plus étendues sur la côte orientale. Alors que le *Périple* achève son itinéraire à Rhapta, considérant que ce port marque la fin du monde exploré et qu'au-delà l'océan se courbe vers l'ouest (§ 18), Ptolémée parle de populations habitant les régions africaines au sud de Rhapta. D'après lui, en poursuivant le voyage maritime en direction du sud-est on atteindrait Prason, que les historiens modernes identifient avec le cap Delgado (IV, 58.1). Aussi bien Ptolémée ne limite pas ses informations à la région côtière; il est au courant d'une grande montagne à neiges à l'ouest de Rhapta, qu'on peut avec assurance identifier avec le Kilimandjaro (IV, 8.3), ainsi que, plus à l'ouest, de la région des grands lacs où se trouvent les sources du Nil (I, 17.6).

A titre de complément à Prolémée on peut citer la *Topographie chrétienne* de Cosmas dit Indicopleustès, ouvrage composé à la veille du deuxième concile de Constantinople de 553, qui, malgré son caractère plutôt apologétique que géographique et ses informations vagues et souvent confuses, est suffisamment précis en ce qui concerne l'Éthiopie et la région de la Barbarie, plus au sud, qui n'est autre que l'Azanie, ou pays de Zijn.

Une deuxième catégorie de sources est constituée par les ouvrages des géographes arabes. Les plus anciens témoignages fournis par ces sources datent des IXe et Xe siècles et confirment généralement les données du *Périple,* à savoir que les populations Zanj (Zinj), dont le pays était délimité au nord par la rivière Juba et au sud par une ligne à la latitude de l'île de Pemba, étaient gouvernées par des princes locaux qui disposaient de personnel administratif et de troupes. Les populations sont décrites comme adonnées à l'agriculture, mais la présence de groupes pastoraux d'origine kouschite est également signalée par Masudi. Les populations Zajn étaient bantoues et leur contacts avec les populations kouschites et les immigrés arabes devaient aboutir à une synthèse ethno-culturelle marquée par la civilisation arabe et la religion islamique. Les populations bantoues de la côte ainsi acculturées se lient, malgré la diversité de substrat ethnique, par le swahili, langue bantoue enrichie d'emprunts lexicaux arabes et ayant, dans les temps modernes, servi de langue véhiculaire depuis la côte orientale jusqu'au bassin congolais central. Cette connexion ethno-culturelle avec un segment important du monde asiatique rattache l'Afrique orientale aux grands courants historiques du monde médiéval, qui s'acheminent de la Méditerranée vers l'Asie. Les témoignages arabes deviennent plus abondants pendant la période classique de l'Islam et fournissent des éclaircissements suffisants sur l'expansion et la consolidation des

établissements arabes ainsi que sur le développement de sociétés assimilées sur toure la côte orientale.

Une troisième catégorie de témoignages est fournie par les sources chinoises. La connaissance que les chinois avaient obtenue de l'Afrique dans l'antiquité n'était pas directe. Malgré l'avance de leur technologie maritime à l'époque de la dynastie des T'ang (618-906), les chinois évitaient, pour des raisons institutionnelles, de naviguer au-delà de leur espace limitrophe. Mais par leur commerce maritime avec les indiens et les arabes les chinois purent se rendre compte de l'existence du continent africain, qu'ils considéraient comme une prolongation de l'empire arabe. Cette connaissance imparfaite se trouve consignée dans des chroniques de la période T'ang et on en a déduit deux toponymes, l'un identifié avec le pays de Berbera (Barbar), l'autre, *Muá-lien,* identifié en premier lieu avec Malindi sur la côte de Kenya, en deuxième lieu avec Méroé. Les informations chinoises sur l'Afrique deviennent toutefois plus spécifiques avec le développement du commerce maritime de la Chine au XIIe siècle et notamment sous la dynastie des Sung (1127-1279). Tant les annales officielles de cette dynastie que les chroniques non-officielles de l'époque contiennent des renseignements très précis sur diverses régions de l'Afrique orientale, dont il convient de mentionner le nom *Zang,* par lequel sont désignés les noirs d'Afrique et qui correspond au nom grec *Ζιγγὶς ἄκρα* ou *Ζήγγισα ἄκρα* de Ptolémée (I, 17.9 et IV, 7.11), le *Ζίγγιον* de Cosmas Indicopleustès (II, 29,50), et le *Bilad al Zanj* des géographes arabes. Nous nous retrouvons dans le pays de Zinj ou l'Azania. Un autre nom de localité ou région tend à être identifié avec *Shungwaya,* qui est censé être le berceau des populations bantoues du nord-est. Les témoignages chinois revêtent un caractère absolument systématique au XVe siècle, sous la dynastie des Ming, dont le troisième empereur Yung-lo organisa des expéditions d'exploration de l'Océan Indien. Deux de ces expéditions eurent lieu en 1417-1419 et 1421-1422 et atteignirent la côte orientale d'Afrique. Elles furent l'objet de rapports circonstanciés et bien que ces rapports ne fussent que partiellement conservés, ils constituent de vrais exposés sur les pays et les peuples explorés. Ils renseignent notamment sur le milieu naturel, l'écologie, les habitants, la culture, les produits et le commerce. Ces renseignements concordent avec ceux fournis par d'autres sources anciennes et l'ethnographie moderne. Un exemple caractéristique est fourni par l'information suivant laquelle les habitants de Barbara (Somalie du sud) ont un régime alimentaire consistant en lait et viande avec, en complément, le sang frais tiré des veines des animaux de pâture. Cette pratique a persisté jusqu'à nos jours chez certains groupes somaliens,

chez les Masai et d'autres groupes pastoraux de l'Afrique orientale. Les grandes expéditions maritimes de la dynastie des Ming au XVe siècle assumaient le caractère de vraies missions scientifiques en même temps qu'elles visaient la promotion du commerce extérieur de la Chine. Elles ajoutaient à la connaissance des pays explorés et cette connaissance était consignée dans les chroniques chinoises. Le commerce chinois avec l'Afrique orientale semble avoir été suffisamment développé à cette époque pour permettre une certaine pénétration de civilisation matérielle dans le continent.

Pénétrations ethniques

Les témoignages principaux que nous avons invoqués attestent d'une manière inconstestable l'ancienneté des établissements côtiers de l'Afrique orientale en même temps que l'historicité de cet espace géographique par rapport à un espace historique délimité au nord par les rives de l'Océan Indien et à l'est par le complexe insulaire du sud-est asiatique. Les communications dans cet espace océanique qui, depuis Madagascar jusqu'à l'Insulinde, n'est guère entrecoupé d'archipels étendus, sont possibles de deux manières. D'une part, par la navigation côtière laquelle, vu l'immensité des distances, ne pourrait être que progressive et échelonnée, nécessitant, pour le commerce de l'Inde et des pays plus lointains, des ports transitaires intermédiaires, fournis d'ailleurs par les emporia très anciens de l'Arabie méridionale et de la mer Érythhrée. D'autre part, par la navigation plus directe à travers l'espace océanique, rendue possible par la régularité des moussons, notamment par celui du nord-est qui permet un accès direct de l'Inde et des ports de l'Arabie. Cette navigation embrasse des espaces plus importants, lorsqu'elle s'aligne sur les vents alizés de provenance de l'Indonésie occidentale en direction de Madagascar. Ce sont ces vents qui ont, en toute probabilité, permis l'accès de la grande île aux colonisateurs indonésiens, élément ethnique principal de la population malgache, porteur d'une langue et d'une culture d'origine indonésienne. Le caractère échelonné de l'immigration étrangère explique la colonisation progressive de la côte orientale, qui peut être directe, à partir du pays souche, ou indirecte, à partir d'un établissement antérieur. Ainsi, la présence d'éléments ethniques arabes à Madagascar est primitivement due à une ré-immigration à partir d'établissements de la côte orientale d'Afrique.

Le motif primitif des migrations vers la côte orientale doit être recherché en premier lieu à la pression démographique dans les pays de

la péninsule arabe, mais l'avènement de l'Islam et les fermentations religieuses qui s'ensuivirent doivent avoir constitué des motifs supplémentaires d'émigration. La pénétration arabe fut progressive et échelonnée par établissements côtiers se développant en stations maritimes et commerciales et évoluant en centres de colonisation à partir desquels les contacts avec les populations de l'intérieur devenaient possibles. Des îles côtières suffisamment grandes, telles Zanzibar, Pemba et Mafia, se prêtaient favorablement à des établissements pouvant donner lieu à des unités politiques. La formation de telles unités sur le continent à partir des établissements côtiers relevait d'un processus différent. L'immensité du territoire, son inaccessibilité relative, l'hétérogénéité des populations, leur diversité linguistique et leur fragmentation tribale imposaient des méthodes différentes de pénétration et de contacts. Ces méthodes consistaient en principe en échanges de produits importés, accords conclus avec des chefs locaux, des alliances diverses et des liens matrimoniaux. Cette dernière pratique fut très importante pour la stabilisation de la présence arabe en Afrique orientale. Les Arabes y avaient recours dès l'antiquité dans leurs relations commerciales avec le pays de la Barbarie et del'Azanie, ainsi que corroboré par le témoignage du *Périple.* Cette pratique donna naissance aux groupes arabisés, nombreux sur la côte, dispersés à l'intérieur, qui servirent de pôles à la consolidation de la puissance arabe jusqu'aux temps de la colonisation européenne.

Malgré l'ancienneté des établissements arabes sur la côte orientale, la pénétration de l'intérieur du continent fut extrêmement tardive. En réalité, la progression des stations de traite arabes et arabisées vers la région des grands lacs et par la suite l'extension de l'influence arabe sur le fleuve Lualaba sont le fait des temps modernes. Cette poussée vers l'intérieur du continent se produisit à la faveur de deux circonstances: premièrement, la consolidation des sultanats arabes de la côte, qui disposaient d'une organisation politique et contrôlaient des ressources humaines, qui leur permettaient l'organisation d'expéditions de longue haleine; deuxièmement, l'utilisation d'armes à feu perfectionnées, qui rendaient facile la soumission des populations. L'extension de la domination arabe à l'intérieur coïncidait avec l'intensification de la traite des esclaves et l'organisation sur grande échelle de l'approvisionnement en esclaves et autres produits exotiques des marchés du Proche-Orient.

Avec le processus de pénétration progressive et de domination marche de pair un processus d'acculturation dont le produit permanent est la civilisation swahili, civilisation qui a conféré leur physionomie

historique aux peuples de la côte orientale depuis le sud de la Somalie jusqu'au nord de la Mozambique. La civilisation swahili dépasse les frontières des pays qui l'ont intégrée dans leur tradition nationale en raison de la langue swahili, langue de grande diffusion qui a atteint le statut de langue littéraire, et de langue officielle depuis l'émancipation politique des états de la côte orientale. La langue swahili exprime d'une manière unique le résultat acculturatif du processus de pénétration ethnique de la côte orientale d'Afrique. La structure du swahili est celle d'une langue bantoue, à savoir d'une langue préfixale, à classes nominales. Cette structure de base a été conservée intacte, ce qui exprime la préservation de l'identité mentale, partant ethnique, des peuples qui le parlent. Par contre, sa richesse lexicale est en grande partie due aux emprunts à l'arabe, ce qui représente l'assimilation de valeurs culturelles au cours des contacts historiques avec le monde extérieur. Mais ces emprunts n'affectent pas la structure grammaticale de la langue. Ils sont intégrés et assimilés dans le système préfixal et le classement nominal bantou. Le swahili garde ainsi son identité foncière africaine tout en se distinguant comme un moyen de communication susceptible d'enrichissement et d'adaptation au gré des exigences de la civilisation moderne. Le fait majeur signifié par cette évolution linguistique est historique. La domination arabe des régions de la côte orientale fut absorbée et l'influence culturelle qui l'accompagnait fut assimilée dans une synthèse ethno-culturelle qui a préservé sonf africanité foncière.

Nous reportant, à titre comparatif, à l'autre pénétration ethnique opérée par les voies de l'Océan Indien, celle des indonésiens à Madagascar, nous constatons que les processus ethniques assument des sens tout à fait différents, que nous pouvons seulement résumer en quelques points. *(a)* Les immigrants indonésiens s'implantant dans une île quasi vierge développent sans entrave une société qui n'est en réalité qu'un transfert d'un segment détaché du tronc de la société indonésienne. *(b)* Dans leur progression vers le statut d' "indigènes" les colonisateurs indonésiens ne rencontrent pas d'obstacles physiques insurmontables ni d'opposition ethnique de la part de populations autochtones. L'insularité de leur position les protège de telle opposition d'autant plus que "les Zajn", d'après le témoignage d'Idrissi, "ne disposent pas de navires avec lesquels ils puissent faire des traversées". *(c)* S'il y a acculturation relative des colonisateurs indonésiens dans les cultures africaines, elle est le résultat plutôt de leurs propres activités que d'un impact du milieu humain africain. Étant navigateurs eux-mêmes ils sont impliqués dans le commerce maritime

et les échanges commerciaux, ainsi que dans les contacts avec les peuples de la côte, subissant naturellement un degré de contre-influence, renforcé par des métissages avec des africains soit emmenés comme esclaves et compagnons soit émigrant dans l'île en diverses circonstances. *(d)* Le métissage avec des africains explique les caractéristiques raciales mixtes dans une partie de la population malgache. Ces caractéristiques sont plus ou moins marquées à raison de l'intensité des métissages intervenus, tandis que le manque de tels métissages a permis à certains groupes malgaches de préserver leurs traits anthropologiques originaux. *(e)* Du point de vue purement culturel on a observé des influences linguistiques d'origine africaine, portant, toutefois, non pas sur la structure foncière de la langue, mais sur sa phonétique. Ces faits permettent de conclure que l'intervention indonésienne en Afrique, à l'encontre de l'intervention arabe, n'a pu être absorbée enthiquement ni avoir produit une synthèse acculturative à l'instar de la dernière. En raison surtout de l'insularité de la société malgache la réaction ethno-culturelle africaine, bien que réelle, n'a pu ébranler les fondements anthropologiques et culturels de cette société qui a ainsi acquis le statut d'une société africaine sans en posséder les traits ethniques originaux.

Problématique

La recherche concernant les influences ethno-culturelles exercées sur l'Afrique orientale à travers l'Océan Indien implique un nombre de disciplines spécialisées, étant donnée l'hétérogénéité des courants ethniques et culturels: arabe, indien, chinois, indonésien. La question ressort donc d'un traitement interdisciplinaire, la recherche proprement africaniste requérant le secours des disciplines orientalistes. Cependant, le problème ne se limite pas aux constatations objectives; il a une portée historique majeure dans la mesure où les influences exercées ont affecté le cours de l'histoire africaine. Quels furent les effets de ces influences sur les peuples africains et dans quel sens ont-elles modifié la morphologie de leurs cultures? Le problème n'a pas manqué d'être posé en ce sens, notamment par Michel Mollat, mais aussi certains auteurs soulèvent-ils accessoirement la question à propos de faits connexes et collatéraux. La tendance générale consiste à aborder la question du point de vue des grandes civilisations de l'Asie et traiter les influences comme prolongations historiques de ces civilisations sur le continent africain. Cette méthodologie est correcte lorsqu'il s'agit d'établir les faits pragmatiques; elle s'avère impropre à

partir du moment où l'historien ne se limite pas aux constatations des faits mais essaie d'approfondir la sémantique historique des influences. Quelle est la profondeur sociale de ces influences et quel est le degré de modification du cours de l'histoire africaine qu'elles ont entraîné? Ont-elles comporté des procensus d'acculturation profonde ou se sont-elles limitées à la surface de la civilisation matérielle? Furent-elles réciproques, comportant des contre-influences africaines sur les immigrants asiatiques y compris des assimilations ethniques? En se plaçant du point de vue de l'histoire africaine nous ramenons le problème à ses dimensions qualitatives qui mesurent l'importance du contenu des relations historiques afro-asiatiques. Le caractère humain de ces relations en complique singulièrement l'évaluation tout en suscitant une problématique enchaînée de très grande conséquence pour l'interprétation de l'histoire africaine. Considérons les points essentiels de cette problématique.

1. Les établissements arabes le long de la côte orientale de l'Afrique émanaient d'une civilisation commerciale et maritime qui contrastait avec la civilisation en prédominance sédentaire des populations bantoues au sud de la Somalie. On est en droit de se demander quel fut l'effet de l'introduction d'une civilisation commerciale dans un continent qui n'était pas en mesure de réagir à un régime d'échanges sur un pied d'égalité en raison, premièrement, d'un mode de production agricole orienté vers une économie de subsistance et non d'exploitation, deuxièmement, des extrêmes difficultés de transport des produits agricoles de l'intérieur à la côte. Ceci étant le cas, quelle fut la contrepartie des échanges arabes sur le continent? Les données historiques ne laissent pas de doute sur la nature de ces échanges. Le commerce arabe s'articulait sur la traite des esclaves et ce commerce fut pratiqué sans répit depuis les premiers siècles de notre ère jusqu'en plein dix-neuvième siècle. Le commerce ainsi institué affectait négativement l'état démographique, social et moral des populations bantoues et constituait un facteur permanent de déséquilibre ethnique et économique en profondeur géographique. Le maintien des établissements arabes nécessitait d'autre part la conservation de population locale dans les domaines géographiques adjacents tant pour pourvoir aux besoins de ces établissements en main-d'oeuvre que pour approvisionner en vivres les centres urbains ainsi développés. La civilisation swahili, développée et répandue sur de larges secteurs géographiques de l'Afrique orientale, est le produit de cette intervention séculaire d'origine océanique dans le continent. La diffusion de la langue swahili à l'intérieur du continent jusqu'à et sur toute la longueur du haut bassin congolais et du Lualaba n'était pas l'apanage d'une diffusion culturelle supportée par un système d'échanges économiques maintenus au niveau des produits naturels, mais celui d'une déculturation et désorganisation ethnique.

2. A partir de cette constatation portant sur le facteur humain on est amené à traiter l'impact des grandes civilisations littorales de l'Océan Indien sur le continent africain sous le prisme de considérations socio-culturelles. Le contact de civilisations hétérogènes, islamique, indienne, austro-mélanésienne, avec les civilisations africaines s'opérait sous des conditions d'inégalité qu'instituaient les relations humaines négatives. Cette négativité enlevait la possibilité d'un processus acculturatif en termes réciproques. Il y a là une anormalité qui obscurcit singulièrement les données relatives aux civilisations africaines et en complique l'interprétation. Ceci devient apparent lorsqu'on aborde l'étude historique de la période cruciale désignée comme âge de fer africain. La question se pose naturellement sur l'origine du fer et des techniques de son travail en Afrique bantoue. Ces techniques sont-elles le produit de pénétrations anciennes des civilisations de l'Océan Indien ou de diffusion intra-continentale, par exemple depuis l'Égypte ou d'autres points de l'Afrique du nord? Bien que l'exploration archéologique de l'âge de fer en Afrique se trouve à un niveau relativement avancé, les résultats obtenus ne fournissent pas d'indications convaincantes sur les points d'origine et les routes de diffusion du fer à l'intérieur du continent. Les questions requérant une réponse se résument aux points suivants. *(a)* L'utilisation du fer par les peuples bantous a-t-elle une origine sub-saharienne ou nord-africaine, ayant été répandue au sud du Sahara avec les courants migratoires de ces peuples vers le sud du continent? Dans une autre acception, la diffusion du fer parmi les peuples bantous a-t-elle une origine extra-africaine, due à des pénétrations orientales, et s'est-elle opérée indépendamment de son origine et utilisation en Afrique du nord? *(b)* Les lignes de la diffusion du fer à l'intérieur du continent correspondent-elles à des migrations de population autochtone ou à des routes de pénétration commerciale? *(c)* De cette dernière question dérive nécessairement une troisième: les porteurs de la technologie du fer sont-ils ethniquement étrangers aux peuples bantous ou assimilés à ceux-ci, constituant des groupes ou des unités mineurs dispersés sur des points de pénétration des influences orientales, au même titre que les ilôts ethnographiques constitués par des populations arabisées de la côte orientale et du bassin du Lualaba?

3. Un troisième problème est posé par l'étude des pénétrations du point de vue linguistique. Il serait téméraire de prétendre qu'une

corrélation a pu être établie entre les routes de diffusion du fer dans les pays bantous et les grandes lignes de migrations des peuples bantous telles qu'elles se corroborent par la diffusion de leurs langues, et ceci malgré le point de vue contraire exprimé par Huffman. Si la technologie du fer est d'origine africaine, sa diffusion devrait présenter certaines correspondances avec les grandes lignes de migrations ethniques et celles représentant la progression et la ramification des langues bantoues. Or, en acceptant la théorie de Greenberg, de l'origine nord-ouest des langues bantoues, nous nous heurtons contre des sens opposés de routes de diffusion du fer qui semblent assumer des directions est-ouest ou nord-est-sud. Il en irait différemment, si la théorie de Guthrie, préconisant une origine nord-orientale des langues bantoues, pouvait être documentée. La coïncidence éventuelle d'un site archéologique avec un site d'établissement humain ne consitute pas une preuve absolue d'attribution d'origine. Ainsi, l'argument proposé par Oliver, suivant lequel le site métallurgique d'Ingombe Ilede en Zambie apporte une preuve de l'origine bantoue de cette métallurgie, pourraît-il être contredit par le fait que ce site se trouve sur une des routes majeures menant de la côte orientale à l'intérieur.

4. Tout en intervenant dans le problème les données linguistiques peuvent fournir des indications importantes, probablement beaucoup plus persuasives que les données ethnographiques. L'arabisation de segments importants de populations sur la côte orientale se reflète, par exemple, dans le vocabulaire swahili, dans lequel abondent les mots d'emprunt témoignant non seulement des pénétrations ethniques, mais aussi des influences culturelles subies par les populations locales. Cette valeur documentaire des données linguistiques est cependant affaiblie par le fait que les études étymologiques des vocabulaires africains n'ont pas réalisé, à peu d'exceptions près, de progrès suffisants pour permettre des corrélations d'ordre historique. A titre d'exemple, dans le contexte des influences exercées à travers l'Océan Indien on peut signaler l'argument de Huffman, qui invoque la terminologie du bétail à l'appui de sa thèse sur la corrélation de la terminologie du fer avec la civilisation bantoue. Le terme de base pour le bétail bovin dans les langues bantoues est *ngombe.* Ce terme,. sous de nombreuses variantes, se retrouve dans la plupart des langues bantoues, mais aussi dans certaines langues soudanaises. Il est généralement admis que l'économie pastorale des bantous tire son origine des peuples soudanais et nilo-hamitiques et qu'elle s'est répandue à partir de la limite sud de l'aire habitée par ces peuples. Or, l'origine de l'espèce bovine est-africaine est l'Asie, notamment l'Inde, où le terme sanskrit *gomas* signifie

la viande de boeuf. Même en contestant l'étymologie sanskrite du terme il serait risqué d'invoquer le terme pour l'espèce bovine en faveur d'une corrélation entre civilisation bantoue et métallurgie. Pour retenir l'argument, il faudrait prouver l'origine non extérieure du bétail bovin chez les bantous.

Le transfert de l'argument linguistique dans l'analyse de la terminologie métallurgique se complique d'une manière analogue. Le terme de base pour le fer dans les langues bantoues a comme radical *-uma,* par exemple *chuma* en swahili, et *-uha.* L'essai de dérivation de ces radicaux africains du sanskrit *luhār,* forgeron, et *lohā,* fer, est partiellement corroborée par la similitude de la technologie de la fonte du fer aux Indes et en Afrique, y compris la méthode de la cire perdue, pratiquée aux Indes depuis le XVe siècle avant notre ère. La difficulté de cette dérivation gît dans le fait que le radical le plus répandu dans les langues bantoues est *-uma* et la tentative de Wainwright d'assimiler *-uma* à la forme plus rare *-uha* est pour le moins douteuse. Reste cependant le terme *luhar* qui dénote le forgeron et dont la dérivation du sanskrit n'est pas à exclure. De fait, la nécessité se fait sentir d'une terminologie du fer à retracer dans le proto-bantou. La tentative dans ce sens de Maret et Nsuka n'a pas abouti. Le problème de la métallurgie dans la civilisation bantoue est plus vaste. Bien que le fer jouât un rôle capital dans le développement de cette civilisation, l'importance des autres métaux, dont l'usage peut être très ancienne et en même temps significative pour l'histoire culturelle, fut aussi grande. Quel rôle, par exemple, a joué l'or dans les échanges de la côte orientale avec le monde extérieur et quelle est l'ancienneté de ce trafic et son importance pour la promotion des relations à travers l'Océan Indien? Quelle est, d'autre part, l'importance de l'exploitation et de l'usage de cuivre, dont les riches gisements cuprifères de Shamba (ancien Katanga) étaient accessibles à la côte orientale par la voie interlacustre? L'exploitation de ces gisements est très ancienne, à juger par la découverte près du lac Kisele à Shamba de lingots de cuivre placés dans des tombes datées de 720 ∓ 120 et 890 ∓ 200 de notre ère. Le format en X des lingots rappelle celui utilisé comme monnaie d'échange dans le commerce de l'Inde à travers l'Océan Indien. Les lingots de cuivre comme moyen de règlement constitue certainement une nouveauté remarquable dans l'évolution de l'économie bantoue, étant donné que le moyen primitif d'échange étaient les cauris, instrument qui a persisté en économie coutumière jusqu'aux temps modernes. En dehors de cette utilisation monétaire des métaux la question doit être examinée dans les cadres plus généraux du commerce de l'Inde avec l'Afrique et des importations de métaux par le premier pays.

5. Complémentairement aux questions exposées il y a lieu de considérer le problème fondamental de l'introduction, par les voies de l'Océan Indien, de plantes domestiques. Gwynne distingue trois catégories de plantes domestiques en Afrique orientale, celles provenant de l'Asie du sud-ouest, plus particulièrement du Moyen-Orient, celles provenant de l'Inde et de l'Asie du sud-est, et celles introduites de l'Europe aux temps modernes. Dans la catégorie de celles originaires de l'Asie du sud et du sud-est appartient le riz, dont la culture se propagea d'abord de son pays d'origine, l'Asie du sud-est, à l'Inde et à l'Indonésie. L'introduction du riz en Afrique orientale ne semble pas avoir suivi une seule voie. A partir de l'Inde sa culture suivit la voie côtière et atteignit l'Éthiopie et l'Azanie par l'intermédiaire des ports de l'Arabie du sud. Mais aussi une introduction directe de l'Inde aux ports de l'Afrique orientale est probable. En ce qui concerne le Madagascar, la culture du riz fut introduite par les immigrants indonésiens qui pouvaient atteindre l'île directement de l'Inde du sud à l'aide des vents alizés.

D'aussi grande importance pour l'économie africaine fut la culture du bananier, introduite par les voies de l'Océan Indien. Il est superflu d'insister sur l'importance de cette plante qui se propagea à travers tout le continent et finit par constituer un élément de base de l'alimentation des populations africaines.

L'introduction de cultures exotiques en Afrique ne ressort, certes, de la problématique humaine, mais elle est liée indissolublement à celle-ci en raison de ses effets sur l'évolution démographique du continent. Dans ce domaine les effets sont nettement positifs et leur évaluation implique des recherches tendant à établir une corrélation entre la propagation des cultures importées et l'expansion démographique. La corrélation de l'introduction de plantes alimentaires de l'Asie du sud-est avec l'expansion bantoue vers l'est et le sud de l'Afrique a été soutenue par Murdock, mais elle doit alors concorder avec les débuts de la navigation à travers l'Océan Indien, qui est placée aux débuts de l'ère chrétienne. Il est clair que l'introduction de plantes à travers l'Océan Indien doit être vue dans les cadres généraux des pénétrations ethno-culturelles et de l'impact de ces pénétrations sur l'histoire africaine.

Note finale

Les recherches sur l'Océan Indien par rapport au continent africain donnent l'impression d'un enrichissement de l'histoire de l'Afrique, mais c'est là une impression produite par l'ambiguïté du terme *histoire,* qui dénote en même temps le passé historique vécu et la relation de ce passé ou, pour mieux dire, l'acte historiographique. S'il y a enrichissement, c'est certainement au profit de l'acte historiographique. Au niveau du passé vécu les contacts historiques à travers l'Océan Indien doivent être évalués sous l'angle de l'action négative ou positive sur le cours de la vie historique des peuples africains. En conséquence, l'historien ne saurait s'en tenir à la simple constatation des faits ni se borner à la tâche d'une histoire événementielle. Au-delà de cette tâche il est tenu à approfondir et révéler les effets qualitatifs d'une action historique qui s'avère de haute conséquence pour l'histoire du continent africain. Il interviendra, pour ainsi dire, dans le domaine d'une histoire qualitative, sans pour cela porter atteinte à l'objectivité historique. Car, en tant que déductions supportées par les faits et données, les évaluations historiques se situent dans les limites des constatations objectives.

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The Nubian Archers in Pre-Islamic and Islamic Periods

The aim of this paper is to trace the art of archery in the ancient and medieval Sudan, through both literary and monumental evidence. As it will be shown, the Nubian archers were experienced in mastering the bow-art, generation after generation, and Nubia, traditionally known as "The Land of the bow", deserved this reputation.

The bow is the easiest of weapons to make, and one of the most effective[1]. The bow has been of paramount importance as a weapon both of war and chase. Snodgrass[2] states that ancient bows, being of perishable material, have survived only in exceptional circumstances, such as internment in the sealed tombs of Egypt.

The evidence of classical authors and medieval Arab writers and the remains of the Napata-Meroitic kingdom enable us to reconstruct the image of Nubian's Archery.

I. The Nubian Archers in pre-Islamic Period

The Sudanese had been regularly employed by pharaoh as soldiers and police[3]. Throughout the old and Middle kingdoms, the type of bow common in Egypt was the usual African bow, the simple stave wood, either with single or double curves. This wooden bow is very frequent in Egyptian remains[4]. The Hyksos introduced the composite bow from

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1. Leo VI Tactica, The account about the use of the bow tr. by C. Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*. p. 179.

2. A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*. London and Southampton, 1967 p. 17.

3. R.O. Faulkner, "Egyptian Military organization" *JEA* 39 (1953) 32-47.

4. See W.E. Mcleod, "An Unpublished Egyptian Composite Bow in the Brooklyn Museum" *AJA* 62 (1958) 398 ff. also, for more information about the types of bows used in Egypt, see the same author. "Egyptian composite bows in New York" *AJA* 66 (1966) 13 ff.

Asia. From one point of view, the superiority of their compound bow to the less powerful Egyptian self-bow enabled the Hyksos to conquer Egypt (1675-1567 B.C.) and to take over the Egyptian control in Lower Nubia[5].

It seems that the Kerma kingdom, further south in Sudan, had been militarily strong by this time, because the Hyksos king asked the king of Kush requesting military help to crush a revolt in Thebes against his rule. He asked the king of Kerma to send troops to crush the revolt and then divide the land of Egypt between them[6].

The Egyptians relied on their African hinterland. A warlike tribe from Nubia in Sudan equipped with Egyptian weapons and dressed in lion-cloth (Fig. 1) seems to have played an important role, in driving the Hyksos out of Egypt[7].

The New Kingdom marked the heyday of the toxophily (1567-1085 B.C.)[8]. A large standing army was organized for the first time. Professional soldiers included Nubian troops employed[9], and the sons of local Nubian kings schooled in the pharaonic court, in military studies. Then in the eighth century B.C. the Egyptianized Kushite kings of Napata conquered and ruled Egypt (751-656) till they were driven out by Assyrians who used iron-weapons[10].

This Nubian long military experience and tradition for mercenaries of various types, especially archers in the pharaonic Egypt was vividly represented by the wooden model of forty black archers found in a tomb of a prince of Assiut[11] (Fig. 2).

Napata-Meroe Kingdom was powerful for almost a thousand years, between 750 B.C. to the middle of the fourth century. It was contemporary with the last pharaonic phase, and later with both Greek and Roman Egypt[12]. In this kingdom the bow possessed the most significant position.

Regarding the Nubian method of fighting there is no much evidence. The main sources of information are the accounts by Heliodorus and Lucian. Heliodorus[13] describing the Ethiopian method of fighting records

5. See T. Säve Söderbergh. "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt" *JEA* 37 (1951) 55.
6. M.B. Al-Rayah, *Sudan Civilization,* Khartoum, p. 15.
7. Söderbergh, op. cit., p. 70.
8. W.E. Mcleod, (1966) op. cit., p. 65.
9. Faulkner, op. cit., p. 41 ff.
10. Al-Rayah, op. cit., p. 27.
11. For the model of Nubian archers in the Cairo Museum see Philipp Von Zabern, *Offizeller Katalog Das Agyptische Museum* Kairo, 1986, p. 72.
12. Al-Rayah op. cit., p. 30.
13. Heliodorus, Aethiopica (IX, 19).

that "they stuck their arrows in a circle in a round band placed on their heads, with the feathered end toward the head and the points sticking out like the rays of the sun. Plucking the arrows from the band as from a quiver". He also describes the way that the Ethiopians approached their enemies, a point which is also mentioned by Lucian[14]: "The Ethiopians, even in waging war, do it dancing, and an Ethiopian may not let fly the shaft that he had taken from his head, unless he has first danced, menacing the enemy by his attitude and terrifying him in advance by his prancing".

War-elephants were also used by the Sudanese archers according to Heliodorus. The Ethiopian King employed tower-bearing elephants, with crews of six archers each, the elephant being protected by iron-armor[15]. Actually the archaeological finds provide an important testimony on the existence of the mounted archers. They are shown on the wall of the sun temple of Akinidad[16].

The Nubian giant bow

The Persians, it is believed, brought a new type of bow to Egypt (525 B.C.). This new bow was developed by the nomads of southern Siberia. At this time, Herodotus visited Egypt and wrote an account about Ethiopia "Meroitic kingdom". According to Herodotus, the king of Kush presented to the spies of the Persian ruler Cambyses II in Meroe a giant bow, telling them to take it to their master with a warning message saying "The king of Ethiopians counsel the king of the Persians when the Persian can draw a bow of this greatness as easy as I do, then to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians"[17].

This type of giant bow appeared in the pyramids of Bejrawia and other Meroitic remains; as mentioned by Vantini[18], the length of this bow is about two metres.

The bow as a typical Kushite symbol

As far as we can trace the archaeological evidence it seems clear that

14. Lucian vol. V, Dances, 18.
15. Heliodorus (IX, 17).
16. See B.G. Haycock, "The Place of Napata-Meroitic Culture in the History of the Sudan and Africa" in *Sudan in Africa* ed. Y.F. Hassan Khartoum, 1985 p. 38.
17. Herodotus, book III (21-22).
18. Vantini, G., *Ta'rikh al-Masiyhia fi al-Mamālik al-Nūbiah al-qadimā wa al Sūdān al hadith,* Khartoum 1978, p. 25-26.

the bow is the symbol of the Kushite kingdom and had the most important place among the royal equipment.

The newly appointed king had a coronation journey around the settlement of the kingdom. There were coronation ceremonies performed at each station of this journey and the king received royal power as if anew at each station from the Amun worshipers. The pattern was always repeated in the ceremonies. Amun-Re proclaimed the king ruler of every land, the South, the North, the West and the East and the king received a bow from the deity. Obviously as a symbol of the royal power[19].

A rock relief at Jebel Qeili depicts the king receiving a bow and arrows from the sun-god and triumphing over his enemies[20] (Fig. 3).

At Mūṣawwart the Lion God is shown holding a bow and quiver, and wearing what is believed to be an archer's "draw-ring"; also the king himself wore such an archer's draw-ring (Fig. 4). In general bows are frequent royal equipment on the tomb chapels scenes at Meroe[21].

II. Byzantine and Islamic Periods

During the Byzantine period, the tradition of levying foreign mercenaries from Nubia continued. Especially, among the Nubians and Blemmyes, both of whom made excellent and valued soldiers, and whose skills as archers were remarkable, evidence for their existence in the Byzantine army of the 6th century onward in Egypt is scattered here and there in the Byzantine sources, namely Martyrum of Arethas[22] and John of Nikiu[23]. Also we know, from Nov. CXVI that Justinian did employ foreigners as regular soldiers in the Byzantine army[24]. At this time, the mounted archers, seemed to be the most important figure in the army. Procopius states that "they are expert horse men, and are able without

19. Török, L., "Ambulatory kingship and settlement History. A study on the contribution of archaeology to Meroitic History" *S.I.C.N.S.* (Geneva 1990) pp. 7-8.

20. It has been suggested that the relief depicts the victory of Meroe against the Axumites: for the draw and more bibliography about the famous victory-relief of king Sherkaner (in Jebel Qeili) see Hendrickx, B., Official Document written in Greek illustrating the Ancient History of Nubia and Ethiopia p. 45.

21. For the picture of the archer's draw-ring see Timothy Kendall "Kingdom of Kush" National Geographic, vol. 178. Nov. 1990, p. 98 also about the archer's draw-ring see Haycock op. cit. p. 38.

22. *Acta,* Martyrii Arethae, AASS X (22-240d) 743.

23. John of Nikiu, *The Chronicle of John Bishop of Nikiu,* Tr. R.H. Charles, London, 1916. p. 160.

24. *Corpus Juris Civilis,* ed. Mommsen, Krueger Schoell Kroll, vol. III, Novellae, CXVI.

difficulty to direct their bows to either side while riding at full speed, and to shoot an opponent[25]" but lack of adequate information makes it difficult to evaluate the quality and importance of Byzantine mounted archers in the seventh and eighth centuries[26].

Information about the use of bows and arrows by the Sudanese can be traced also in the Arabic works Futūh al-Shām[27] attributed to Wāqidī and the Conquest of Bahnasā, written by an unknown author. Christides[28] advocates that the author of the epic of the Conquest of Bahnasā used Wāqidī and a number of other sources which can not be dismissed. He believes that Bahnasa is not an epic based on vaguely historical material, but on straightforward narration of actual historical events, tinted with the usual exaggerations found in such literary work. The Nubians and Blemmyes are vividly described in the epic: "They were mounted on thirteen elephants, equipped with leather small cabinets fortified with iron bars. The Sudanese marched wearing panther skins and equipped with their usual weapons, bows, under the sound of the drums and horns"[29].

Wāqidī in *Futūh al-Shām,* describes the Nubian mounted archers fighting side by side with the Byzantines against the Arabs. He records that "the Sudanese on their elephants moving side by side with Rums into the battle, the Nubians began to shoot and the arrows flew from their bows like a cloud of grasshoppers; in this day many Arabs' eyes were smitten"[30].

Unfortunately, for the islamic period archaeology has provided

25. Procopius, *History of War,* with English trans. by H.B. Dewing I, i, 14.

26. Kaegi, Jr. "The Contribution of Archery to the Turkish conquest of Anatolia". *Speculum XXXIX* Cambridge, Mass. 1964 p. 98-99.

27. Al-Wāqidī, Abu Abdalla Mohammed b. Omar (822-207) *Futūh al-Shām* Beirut (n.d.): The first edition of Futūh al-Shām, published by al-Mactāba al-Ahlyia Beirut 1966.

It is worth mentioning here that there are several Futūh-works circulating under al-Wāqidī's name, Futūh Miṣr and Futūh al-Bahnasā, that form part of Futūh al-Shām is dated from a considerably later time – the times of Crusades. The real author of this work, seems to be a certain Ibn Ishāq al-Umawi. Futūh al-Shām attributed to Wāqidī appears in Arabic in several editions. The whole work is also translated and edited in English by Marsden Jones, under the title the Kitāb al-Maghazi (3 vols., O.U.P., London, 1966). There is also a French translation of Futūh al-Bahnasā by E. Galtier, and published without the Arabic text by E. Chossinot, Cairo, 1909.

28. V. Christides, "Sudanese at the time of the Arab Conquest of Egypt" *BZ* 75 (1982) 6-13. See the same author. "Nubia and Egypt from the Arab Invasion of Egypt until the End of the Umayyades". *S.I.C.N.S.* Geneva 1990. p. 5.

29. Ibid., p. 10; 5; and also *Futūh al Bahnasā,* French Tr. by E. Galtier published posthumously by E. Chossinot, Cairo, 1909 p. 56-57.

30. Al-Wāqidī, part II, op. cit., p. 248.

remarkably little information on the data concerning weaponry, even less than is available for earlier times, but the Arab chronicles provide important information about the Nubian archers[31].

The Nubians' skill in using the bow

The Arabs who took the Persian and Roman empires by sudden storm, remained helpless to conquer Nubia by force. The army sent by 'Amr was forced to retreat after suffering heavy blows from the keen Nubian archers Al-Tabarī[32] states that "when the Muslims completed the conquest of Egypt, they invaded Nubia but they withdrew with many wounded and smitten eyes, from the well-done shooting though the Nubians were called "Rumāt al hadaq". Zaborski[33] argues that "the extraordinary skill of Nubian archers has been exaggerated by the Arabs who were looking for an excuse for their first strategic defeat and withdrawal in Africa"; respectfully his inference lacks proof. The Arab writers' account of the first expeditions against Nubia does not, I believe, raise doubt about the Nubian skill in using the bow but on contrary it is strong proof for this skill. The Arabs marched to conquer Nubia, Al-Kūfī[34] mentions that 'Amr bn. al-'As received a letter from 'Umar ordering him to march against Nubia and conquer it. The Arabs attempted for ten years to conquer Nubia and they failed[35]. Zaborski, to support his view, mentioned above, says that Al-Kūfī speaks at first about heads and hands cut and only after that about eyes smitten by arrows[36].

Nevertheless, Al-Balādhurī[37] records clearly that the Nubian victory is due to the Nubian archers. He says "the Muslims were subjected to such severe showers of arrows until most of them had to return with many wounds and blinded eyes". The Muslims had never suffered a loss like the one they had in Nubia and, at last, 'Abdālla bn. Abi Sarh concluded peace with the Nubians, and Nubia's separate existence is recognized after 652 A.D.

31. See B.B.G. Trigger, "The Cultural Ecology of Christian Nubia", *KGN* 1970, p. 357.

32. Al-Tabarī, Muhammed b. Jarir, *Tarīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, ed. M. Ibu'l-Fadl Ibrahim, vol. 4 Cairo (1977) I/25953 p. III.

33. Zaborski, A., "Marginal Notes on Medieval Nubia" Typewritten Essay (I.2) p. 3.

34. Al-Kufī, Tr. by Vantini in *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia:* Heidelberg and Warsaw 1975 p. 94-95.

35. From 641 when the Arabs first invated Nubia, till 'Abdallā bn. Abi Sarh concluded a truce of security with Nubians in 652.

36. Zaborski op. cit., p. 4.

37. Al Balādhurī: see Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, op. cit., p. 80.

The Nubian bow and its type

The clashes between Christian Nubians and Muslims continued from time to time. King Cyriacus of Nubia in 745 invaded Egypt, and more warfare took place 822-832[38]. In all these clashes, sources focused on the power of the Nubians which was due ultimately to their formidable weapon, the bow.

The Nubians used a strange type of bow. The Arabs called it "al hūs'-ban", "multitude", or sometimes the "Arabian bow", a bow capable of driving three or four arrows by one shot. The arrows flew together like a cloud of grass-hoppers, therefore, one of them must hit the target[39]. Such a type of bow was used by the Nubians, and this was what Yāqūt[40] meant when he says "they (the Nubians) shoot arrows with Arabian bows"; the same information is also provided by Al Mas'ūdi[41]. But Vantini read "qaribāh", "strange", instead of " 'arabiāh", "Arabian", so the translation appeared: "they fight with arrows, shot from bows of a strange shape"[42] instead of "they shoot arrows with arabian bows"[43]. It is really astonishing that Zaborski, misled of course by the inaccurate translation and to emphasize his doubt, expresses positive interest in the information recorded by al Mas'ūdi but negative one in the information recorded by Yāqūt, which in fact is the same information. It seems clear that Zaborski ignored the meaning of "arabian bow" and takes it as the origin of the type of bow; however Zaborski, to advocate his view states that "Al-Aswāni says nothing about bows as Nubian arms"[44]. Al-Aswāni,

38. B.G. Trigger op. cit., p. 357. For the relations between Nubia and Muslim Egypt. See Nubia EI^2 (in press). I thank Prof. V. Christides for making available to me his article before publication.

39. Al-Ganabi, Khalid Gasim, *Tanzimāt al-gaiysh al-'Arabi al-Islāmī fi al-Asr al-Umawi* Bagdhad. 1984 pp. 146-147.

40. Yaqūt: see Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, op. cit., p. 346.

41. Al-Mas'ūdi, Abul-Husayn 'Ali b. al-Husayn, *Murūj adhahab*, vol. I/2 Beirut 1982 p. 305.

42. Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, op. cit., p. 127.

43. Al-Masudi, op. cit., p. 305.

44. Zaborski, op. cit., p. 3.

as we know wrote a book entitled: Kitāb Akhabār al Nūba wa'l'Muqura wa 'Alwa wa'l Buja wa'l'Nil, but unfortunately, this important work written by such a good eye-witness is lost. There are just some extracts of it, have been presented by Al-Maqrizi[45] and Ibn Iyās[46]. So it is inaccurate to say "Al Aswāni says nothing about bows as Nubian arms" for the simple reason that we haven't received the whole work of Al-Aswāni[47]. However, most of the Medieval Arab writers mention the skill of the Nubian archers.

The Arabs learned the archery from the Nubians

Al Mas'ūdi[48], helps us to understand what the Medieval Arab writers meant by "arabian bow", when we read his account: "They (the Nubians) shoot with arabian bows, and it is from them, that the people of Hejaz and Yemen and other tribes of Arabs have learned how to use the bow. The Arab nicknamed them 'pupil-smiters'".

So the Arabs had learned the art of archery from the Nubians, and we know from different sources that the Nubians, who converted to Islam, fought with the Islamic army in different battles against the Byzantines, using their skills as archers. The last Fatimid caliph, el 'Adīd had a mercenary palace guard composed of Nubian troops and it is claimed that there were 50.000 Nubian troops in Fatimids' service[49]. The Nubians in the whole Islamic army were also active. The Muslim marines of Egypt who raided the Aegean sea were composed of blacks, many of them entered Egypt from the South peacefully and then joined the Egyptian army. A number of them were found in the army of Muslim Crete[50] (824-

45. Al-Maqrizi, Aḥmed Bn. 'Ali, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa L-itbār fi dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa l'Athar,* ed. G. Weet Cairo 1922 III. pp. 252-303.

46. Ibn Iyās, Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Nashaq al-azhār fi 'ajāib al-aqtār,* who abridges the Aswani's account from al-Maqrizi's Khitat.

47. Al-Aswāni: 'Abdallāh b. Ahmad b. Sulaym, was a Fatimid emissary, visited Nubia on a special mission, in about 365/975. Al-Aswani recorded his observation and certain historical facts relating the Muslim-Nubia relationships during the first centuries of Islam in a book called: *Kitāb akhbār al-Nūba wa l-Muqurra wa 'Alwa wa'l-Buja wa'l-Nil.* Unfortunately, the book is lost and we know it only from Maqrizi's and Ibn Iyās's works. See Notes 45 and 46.

48. Al Mas'ūdi, op. cit., p. 305.

49. Shinne, P.L., "Christian Nubia and the Crusades". *Nubica* I/II (1990) 603-607 also for more information about Nubian troops in Muslim Egypt. See Hasan, Y.F., *The Arabs and the Sudan from the seventh to the early sixteen century,* 3rd-rep., Khartoum 1973 pp. 47-49.

50. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (C.A. 824) A turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam.* Athens 1984 p. 67.

961). Kolias, quoting Leo VI, states that, "in the battle formation the Arabs placed in front of their cavalry the Αἰθίοπες who were armed only with their bows"[51].

To sum up, the Nubians were skillful archers, and they used a special type of bow. The Arabs had learned the art of archery from the Nubians. The bow remained the formidable Nubian weapon. Generation after generation this tradition carried on uninterrupted across three cultures, Pagan, Christian and Muslim until 1820, when the modern weapon had to replace the bow and arrow.

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51. T.G. Kolias, "The Taktika of Leo VI the Wise and the Arabs" *Graeco-Arabica* III (1984) 132.

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Fig. 1. *Part of a scene from the Beit el-Weli relief. Nubians bringing tribute to Pharaonic Egypt. Notice the Nubian famous bows. (Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands, Tr. by M. Pearlman, London, 1963, p. 234).*



Fig. 2. *A wooden model of forty Nubians, found in a tomb of a prince of Assiut. Now in Cairo Museum. Represented vividly the Nubian archers in pharaonic Egypt. (Philipp Von Zabern, op. cit., p. 72).*



Fig. 3. *Victory relief of king Sherkarer, carved on rock at Jebel Qeili. The king received a bow and arrows from the Sun-god. (B. Hendrickx, op. cit., p. 44).*



Fig. 4. Bronze status of a Kushite ruler wears an archer's "draw-ring" on his thumb, recalls the fame of Nubian archers in antiquity. (T. Kendall, op. cit., p. 38).

The Byzantine reconquest of N. Africa and the Impact of Greek Culture

N. Africa is one of the most neglected subjects in modern scholarship on late antiquity and early Byzantium. Neither exactly Byzantine nor exactly western, it tends to be omitted by specialists of both kinds, especially as it has little if any surviving literature of its own from the seventh century, a slower Arab conquest and a lingering Byzantine presence, all unusual in relation to the eastern provinces in general at this period. It tends to go unnoticed for example that N. Africa, the prosperous and civilized province of St. Augustine, underwent a degree of Greek influence and of cultural and linguistic change during the almost two centuries of the Byzantine reconquest.[1] This short paper seeks to draw attention to this rather interesting phase in its history.

The African church had remained strongly Roman in its orientation even under Vandal rule, but after the Byzantine reconquest, the African bishops were brought quickly to realise that they were now ruled from Constantinople. They led the resistance to Justinian's Three Chapters policy of the 540's, going to Constantinople to do so. Into the strongly independent Latin culture of N. Africa, highly conscious of its own traditions, came Byzantine armies and a Byzantine administration from Constantinople; the reconquest, in the name of 'Rome', was recorded by a Greek historian, Procopius, and the officials who took over the running of the restored province under Justinian's law of 534 used Greek seals and imported Greek at an official level. Eastern cults were already represented in N. Africa; now easterners came to the province, first as

1. For a few remarks see my article 'Gelimer's laughter: the case of Byzantine Africa', in F.M. Clover and R.S. Humphreys, eds., *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1989), 171-190, at 179-80. In general see also my 'Byzantine Africa: the literary evidence', in J. Humphrey, ed., *Excavations at Carthage conducted by the University of Michigan* VII (Ann Arbor, 1982), 29-62, with earlier bibliography.

officials, and later under the impact of the Persian invasions of Syria, Palestine and Egypt in the early seventh century. By the early seventh century the N. African administration was sufficiently integrated with forces in the capital to produce the expedition of the younger Heraclius and the patrician Niketas which overthrew Phocas in AD 609/10.[2] Clearly some profound changes had taken place since the reconquest under Justinian.

Unfortunately, with the exception of archaeological evidence, direct information on North Africa in the Byzantine period is in fact very sparse after the middle of the sixth century, and especially so in the seventh. The literary evidence falls into clusters at certain periods – first the late Vandal/early Byzantine period, then the 540's and 550's, after which there is very little that actually emerges from N. Africa itself until the 620's and later, by which time the material is in Greek. Two great figures of the eastern church now appear in conjunction with N. Africa – Maximus Confessor and Sophronius the future patriarch of Jerusalem; moreover, the Emperor Heraclius himself came from N. Africa; further, the intriguing work known as the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati,* reporting the alleged views of a Jew baptized as a Christian under Heraclius's decree of the 630's that all Jews must convert, has its dramatic setting in Carthage.[3] There is no historical work specifically on Byzantine Africa to compare for instance with the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu, no connected history on the Byzantine side deals with N. Africa in this period, and the main Byzantine historical sources for the seventh century, Nicephorus and Theophanes, make little or mention of it. But in ecclesiastical terms history repeated itself: many African bishops went to Rome for the Lateran Synod of AD 649, where they opposed the imperial religious policy of monotheletism, just as they had gone to Constantinople in the late 540's to oppose Justinian. This time too they allied themselves with Rome against Constantinople. The difference was that then they represented Latin

2. See J. Durliat, *Les dédicaces de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome, 1981), 112-113, for the evolution by the late sixth century of a class of notables willing and able to take on civic responsibility. In such a context a real upsurge of Donatism at the end of the sixth century, as often postulated on the basis of some letters of Gregory the Great, seems even more unlikely: see my 'Byzantine Africa', 49-51, and again R.A. Markus, 'The problem of "Donatism" in the sixth century', *Gregorio Magno e il suo Tempo,* XIX Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana in collaborazione con l'École Française de Rome, Roma 9-12 maggio 1990, I (Rome, 1991), 159-66, and especially Y. Duval, 'Grégoire et l'église d'Afrique. Les "hommes du pape" ', *ibid.,* 129-58.

3. See the new edition and historical analysis by G. Dagron and V. Déroche, *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), 18-273.

Christianity; now they found a Greek pope and so many Greek-speaking easterners that even the proceedings of their discussions were composed in Greek. Thirty-seven Greek monks attended the synod, including four who had lived in Rome for some time, one of whom came from a lavra of S. Saba in Africa.[4] During the same period so many Greek-speaking Christians, many of them monks, had left Palestine, Syria and Egypt for Sicily and south Italy under the pressure of the Persian invasions that the culture of these areas was changed in a thoroughgoing and lasting way. This was the environment which the African bishops found in Rome in AD 649. We can further deduce from coin evidence a definite attempt by Byzantium in the reign of Constans II (AD 641-68) to strengthen N. Africa;[5] but Constans himself had joined this westwards thrust by moving the court temporarily to Sicily, another factor which, though shortlived, altered the cultural and linguistic map during these troubled years.

The evidence does not allow us to do more than to concentrate on certain key episodes. The archaeological evidence, though ample, does not permit a connected narrative, and can only be interpreted in general terms. Certainly the Byzantine administration inspired a great deal of building in the province, especially in the form of defences, and churches continued to be remodelled into the seventh century. But the few official inscriptions, like the funerary epitaphs, are still mainly in Latin, and no official building survives entire.[6] Several recent studies, in particular the publication of C. Lepelley's work, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire,* I-II (Paris, 1979), have brought about a revision of existing ideas about urbanism in late Roman Africa; this includes a revised dating for some of the upper-class housing with mosaic pavements, showing that there was continuous habitation in a number of cities longer than

4. See Henry Chadwick, 'John Moschus and his friend Sophronius the sophist', *JThS* n.s. 25 (1974), 41-74, at 58, n. 1.

5. R. Géry, C. Morrisson and H. Slim, *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Rougga III. Le trésor de monnaies d'or byzantines* (Rome, 1982).

6. Latin funerary inscriptions continuing in the Byzantine period: L. Ennabli, *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de la basilique dite de Sainte-Monique à Carthage* (Rome, 1975), nos. 87-114. See also *eadem, Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage II. La basilique de Mcidfa* (Rome, 1982); similarly at Maktar: F. Prévot, *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Maktar V. Les inscriptions chrétiennes* (Rome, 1984), and at Haidra, where the basilica of Melleus was reconstructed in AD 568/69: N. Duval, with F. Prévot, *Recherches archéologiques à Haidra I. Les inscriptions chrétiennes* (Rome, 1975).

previously supposed.[7] But the circus of Carthage seems to have gone out of use in the sixth century,[8] and the period of urban reconstruction attributable to the Byzantine reconquest seems to have been chronologically limited, and to have been followed from the late sixth century onwards by urban decline and contraction.[9] We know from pottery evidence that despite this decline, some degree of overseas exchange continued even into the seventh century, though within an increasingly limited circle.[10] But the nature of this trade, if trade it is, remains something of a mystery, and we cannot put the general picture together in any historical detail. The Arabic literary tradition contributes very little by way of help, since although it has a useful perception of the continued riches of seventh-century Africa in terms of oil production, it shows little if any awareness of the nature of the Byzantine population, and is certainly more aware of the difference between Romans and Berbers than of any linguistic or cultural features of the Roman population itself, which in fact it barely mentions.[11]

To this rather meagre assemblage can be added the evidence of official seals, of which a fair number survive, bearing the monograms of members of the Byzantine administration.[12] Some building work went on in the seventh century, but this does not tell us much directly about Greek versus Latin culture or language.[13] It has been assumed that the poor-quality subdivided dwellings which succeed the earlier grand peristyle houses and encroach on public space, like the burials now found within

7. See recently C. Lepelley, 'Peuplement et richesses de l'Afrique romaine tardive', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin I, IVe-VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1989), 17-30, at 24-25.

8. See J.H. Humphrey, ed., *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage* (Ann Arbor, 1988) and see also Susan Stevens, 'The circus poems in the Latin Anthology', *ibid.*, 153-78.

9. See C. Panella, 'Gli scambi nel mediterraneo occidentale dal IV al VII secolo', in *Hommes et richesses* (n. 7), 129-41, at 140.

10. Panella, *art. cit.*, 138-41, with earlier bibliography.

11. See J. Cuoq, *L'Église d'Afrique du Nord du Ile au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1984), 119, 137 ff.; C. Julien, *History of North Africa*, 2 vols., Eng. trans. (London, 1970).

12. See C. Morrisson and W. Seibt, 'Sceaux de commerciaires byzantins du VIIe siècle trouvés à Carthage, *RN* 24 (1982), 222-41. Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991), 244-46, gives an excellent brief guide to current work on the general state of N. Africa, especially Carthage, in the early seventh century.

13. For the limited Greek in building inscriptions see Durliat, *Les dédicaces*. An inscription from Sidi Gherib from the reign of Justin II and Tiberius has a verse inscription in both Greek and Latin (Durliat, 62-64).

towns, are evidence of a refugee population from the east, and thus of Greek-speaking immigrants. Maximus Confessor indeed refers to Syrian and Egyptian monophysite refugees at Carthage in 641, and had himself been forced to flee from 'barbarian' invasion.[14] But these are cases of monks and nuns; while it seems likely enough that there was some degree of general flight westwards from the Persian as well as the Arab invasions of Egypt, it is perhaps dangerous to argue too much from that as to population growth, and the features of overcrowding and subdivision noticed at Carthage and elsewhere in Africa can be paralleled on other urban sites all round the Mediterranean. A more generalised explanation in terms of urban change is thus also likely. However, there are also major problems in dating 'late Byzantine' remains with certainty, and particularly with any attempt to establish the latest occupation. G. Vitelli has drawn attention to the very inadequate state of archaeological research to date on early Islamic N. Africa, including Carthage, and to the difficulties of aligning the meagre historical and material evidence. She puts the earliest traces of Islamic occupation at Carthage in the tenth century, although the presence of an early mosque (ninth century?) has recently been suggested on the site of the basilica of St. Cyprian. Moreover, the tenth-century date simply relates to the first appearance of definitely Islamic pottery, and therefore still leaves a long period of overlap during which existing material remains may well have remained in use without drastic change.[15] Some use of Greek and evidence of the impact of the Byzantine administration can be traced, including the seals of the Byzantine officials; though Latin continues to be used, even by apparent Muslim converts after the conquest, some Greek names do appear among the funerary epitaphs, and there is evidence of a growth in the influence of eastern cults. Relics of eastern saints were formally 'deposited' in N. African shrines in the sixth and seventh centuries, and the formal procedure dated by regnal years and indictions.[16] The recording of such occasions (though in Latin)

14. *PG* 91.465A, 445A. For the evidence of housing see S.P. Ellis, 'Carthage in the seventh century: an expanding population?', *Cahiers des études anciennes* 17 (1985), 30-42. Seventh-century burials are commonly found within the city, at Carthage and elsewhere in N. Africa, e.g. Sbeitla.

15. G. Vitelli, *Islamic Carthage. The Archaeological, Historical and Ceramic Evidence* (Tunis, 1981); D. Whitehouse, 'An early mosque at Carthage?', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 43 (1983), 161-65.

16. Eastern saints: Y. Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae* II (Paris, 1982), 657-70. The cults of Pantaleon, Theodore of Euchaita and Julian of Antioch seem to have spread in this period; deposition of relics of the last two in the sixth and seventh centuries, beginning in the

and the reference to Byzantine officials indicates the impact of the Byzantine administration in imposing formulae and procedures and controlling life in the province.

We hear from the letters of Maximus of a monastery in N. Africa, apparently Greek, called Eukratades,[17] and Maximus himself conducted a lively correspondence in Greek with a variety of officials, bishops and clergy, as well as with the abbots Thalassius, Conon, George and Polychronius, with an abbess about a nun who had left her convent, and with Theodore the cubicularius on the subject of the monophysite nuns from Alexandria and other 'heretics' from Syria.[18] There was evidently quite a business in translation, and the African bishops sent letters to Rome during the tense period in the mid-century in both Latin and Greek.[19]

This does not perhaps add up to a great deal. But the evidence is very one-sided, and much may be simply lacking. Not one church of the period remains standing; thus we have no sixth or seventh-century mosaics or frescoes to compare with those surviving in Rome, Cyprus or the east from this period. Nor are there any African free-standing icons. Because Christianity survived only very precariously in N. Africa, if at all, there was no iconoclasm to destroy existing monuments, but there was also no frame for their preservation. Nor have any major N. African shrines or pilgrimage sites produced the miracle collections which are such a feature of the seventh-century elsewhere – at Menouthis and Hermopolis Magna in Egypt, at Oxeia, at Euchaita, at Thessaloniki. Neither papyri nor N. African saints' lives survive to match the material available from other provinces. It is one of the oddities of the evidence that we know infinitely more about late Byzantine N. Africa from the works of outsiders to the province than we do from native Africans. Byzantine N. Africa was virtually submerged during the early Islamic period, and unlike the eastern churches, that of Africa did not survive the

mid-sixth century: Duval, 561 ff. Henchir Akrib: Duval I, no. 126 (AD 580); Sila: no. 106 (AD 585), mentioning Gennadius, *mag. mil. Africae* and ex-cos.; Telergma: no. 112 (26th year of Heraclius), mentioning Peter, 'patrician' of Africa (cf. *PG* 90. 111,114).

17. *PG* 91.461A; see Chadwick, 59.

18. Maximus's letters can be mainly found in *PG* 91.9 f., 40 ff., 363-648, and for recent discussion see Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991), 37-41. The writings of Maximus relating to monothelitism are included with discussion and bibliography in F. Winkelmann's valuable collection of sources, 'Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monenergetisch-monothelitischen Streites', *Klio* 69 (1987), 515-59.

19. *PL* 87.81-86.

conquest as a strong national force – indeed, it barely survived at all.[20] Carthage was abandoned as a major settlement in favour of Tunis and while there must clearly have been a degree of continuity in practice, it has left next to no trace in the literary or documentary record. All of this makes it extraordinary difficult to assess the nature of N. African secular or religious culture in the pre-Islamic period.

One text relating in part to Carthage is the *Life* of the Sicilian bishop Gregory of Agrigentum by Leontius, the abbot of the S. Sabas monastery in Rome.[21] While still young, Gregory had a prophetic dream telling him to travel to Jerusalem, and did so via Carthage, where he was at once recognised by the bishop as possessing special holiness; we hear about a local festival, and about the shrine at Carthage of Julian of Antioch, but very soon he was *en route* again for Jerusalem via Tripoli.[22] Unfortunately, while this part of the *Life* seems to relate to the later sixth century, the main section seems to place the action later; in any case the *Life* is mainly about the relations between Sicily, Rome and Constantinople rather than Carthage.[23] It does however confirm the degree of travel in the Mediterranean world to which the next set of texts also testifies. These, which are by far the most important for our present purpose, come from the second quarter of the seventh century and include the *Doctrina Jacobi* on the one hand and the materials associated with Maximus Confessor, John Moschus, the compiler of the *Pratum Spirituale,* and Sophronius the future patriarch of Jerusalem on the other.[24] These sources reveal a strong Palestinian connection in

20. See Cuoq, 106, 119-20, 122-72; Cuoq also draws attention to the likely Christian emigration from Africa in the seventh century. In the eighth century Africa was attached to the see of Alexandria, but records are drastically interrupted after 649, and only a few scattered references remain for the next period: J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique chrétienne* (Paris, 1912); Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae* II, 760 ('l'interruption brutale de la chrétienté d'Afrique'). Bishops' lists: J.-L. Maier, *L'Épiscopat de l'Afrique romaine, vandale et byzantine* (Rome, 1973).

21. *PG* 98.549-716. I am grateful to Professor Christides for reminding me of this text.

22. *Ibid.,* 560B-565A.

23. Bibliography: see A. Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York/Oxford, 1990), s.v.

24. For the former, see below. In both cases there have been recent important publications. Since the excellent article by Chadwick (and see 'Byzantine Africa: the literary evidence', 54 ff.), a number of further publications have improved our knowledge of their relationships and the chronology of their respective travels: e.g. Philip Pattenden, entry s.v. Johannes Moschos, *TRE* 17 (1989), 140-44, from whom a much-needed new edition of the *Pratum* is also announced: editions of several of the works of Maximus in the CCSG series;

Carthage in the period; the latter group were all Greek-speaking ecclesiastics associated with Palestinian monasticism, and the Jewish Carthaginian milieu revealed by the *Doctrina Jacobi* also had its roots in Palestine, specifically at Ptolemais (Akko).

John Moschus and Sophronius were in Egypt during the patriarchate of John the Almsgiver, and wrote their *Life* of him after 619 or 620. There are considerable chronological difficulties about what happened next; John died in Rome, most probably in 634, and Sophronius took his body back to Palestine for burial.[25] A story in the *Pratum* (196) relates to a certain George, attested as eparch of Africa in 632 and 641; perhaps therefore John Moschus was in N. Africa in the late 620's.[26] At any rate, Sophronius certainly did go there, and is mentioned in the letters of Maximus as well as in the later acts of Maximus's first trial.[27] Maximus was certainly in Africa in 632, and may have gone there a few years before; he was then back again, if he left the province meanwhile, in 640, Sophronius having meanwhile been made patriarch of Jerusalem in 634, only to surrender it to the Arabs in 638.[28] The pattern of travel which can be observed in the biographies of all three of these churchmen is also attested for the secular sphere by Jacob, the central figure in the *Doctrina Jacobi,* and the same impression of constant communication is apparent in the documents relating to monothelitism.

Jacob had apparently left Palestine for Constantinople after the Persian sack of Jerusalem in AD 614, and come to Carthage as the agent

R. Riedinger's edition of the *Acts* of the Lateran Synod, *ACO* II.1 (Berlin, 1984); F. Winkelmann's conspectus of sources relating to the monothelite controversy (n. 18). In the same year as Chadwick's article, where he discusses the complicated question of the *Life of John the Almsgiver* by John Moschus and Sophronius and its use by Leontius of Neapolis (50-51), appeared a new edition of the latter by A.J. Festugière based on a fuller recension than H. Gelzer had used in his edition of 1893: *Léontios de Néapolis. Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris, 1974); see 267-70 on the recensions.

25. For the chronological problems see Chadwick, 50-51; Pattenden, *TRE* 17, 141 (both favour 634, but Pattenden also suggests 628 as a possibility).

26. See Chadwick, 46, n. 2.

27. *PG* 91.533A on Sophronius's library, and see P. Sherwood, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (Rome, 1952), 28-29. Acts of trial, on Sophronius: *PG* 90.169C.

28. See on this S.P. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *ABoll.* 91 (1973), 299-346 (also in his *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* [London, 1984], XII), at 324-25; Maximus in AD 632: R. Devreesse, 'La Fin inédite d'une lettre de Saint Maxime: un baptême forcé de Juifs et de Samaritains à Carthage en 632', *Rev. des sciences religieuses* 17 (1937), 25-35.

of a rich merchant, on none too honest business: we thus have direct literary evidence for the continuing commercial importance of Carthage in the early seventh century and for its trading ties with Constantinople.[29] The work itself, presented as an apologia and *protrepticon* for Jews converting to Christianity, dates from the late 630's or early 640's, and gives a full picture of Byzantine perceptions of the Arab invasions from which to supplement the well known remarks of Maximus. The latter saw the Arabs in strongly apocalyptic terms, but even so he did not allow them to deflect him from his ecclesiastical and theological concerns.[30]

With the hindsight of history, we know that these invasions marked the beginning of a profound change in world history. Greek contemporaries of course still failed to understand their actual significance, although the *Doctrina* is unusual here in that it reports (by means of an anecdote read out from a supposed letter written to Iustus from Palestine by his brother Abraames) that a false prophet has arisen among the Saracens, leading them in war and claiming to hold the keys of Paradise. The point of the story is to underline the disappointment of the Jews of Palestine when they learned the truth about Mohammed, after their initial joy when they thought the Messiah had come.[31] The *Doctrina* is by no means a straightforwardly historical source; it is in some respects novelettish, and in others contains the standard themes of Christian/Jewish polemic. Yet it also preserves circumstantial detail about the Jewish and trading communities in Carthage in the early seventh century. 'Jacob', a Jew from Palestine brought up in the rabbinical schools, had subsequently led a wild youth during the reign of Phocas, addicted to the gangs of Blues and Greens in a variety of eastern cities from Constantinople to Antioch. He confesses that when Ptolemais was burned by the Persians he had helped other Jews to plunder Christian churches.[32] In the

29. On the question of long-distance exchange of goods between N. Africa, Italy and Constantinople see Panella, art. cit. (n. 9) and cf. C. Wickham, 'Marx, Sherlock Holmes and late Roman commerce', *JRS* 78 (1988), 183-93.

30. See *PG* 91.540-41, with Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991), 38-40. For Jacob and his business see Dagron, *ib.,* 234-40 and on the geographical setting of the *Doctrina,* 240-46. Dagron comments that Carthage itself is described in conventional terms in comparison with other places mentioned; Jacob may not have known it well, but the choice of Carthage as dramatic setting corresponded to its actual importance and to the particular zeal with which the prefect George carried out Heraclius's conversion policy. On the economic situation of Carthage in this period see Dagron, 246-48.

31. *Doctrina,* V.16, see Dagron, 246-47.

32. IV.5; V.12.

dramatic setting of Carthage, to which he came later in the company of the merchant from Constantinople, we meet the Palestinian rabbi Iustus, his father Samuel (Jacob's teacher in Ptolemais) and Isaac, the leader of the Carthaginian Jewish community. But Palestinian Jews though they may be, their language and their culture was Greek, or at least Byzantine. The work sets out to persuade other Jews faced with Heraclius's law of AD 632 compelling them to convert, and as such it is an apologia rather than a history; nevertheless, its mise-en-scène is far more detailed than that of similar works, and it seems to show real knowledge of the community and its outside links.

Many contemporaries associated the Jews directly with the ills of the empire; others went further and blamed them directly for helping the invaders, whether Persians or Arabs, and indeed the *Doctrina* makes Jacob claim that he had taken part in just such activities in Palestine himself. Maximus was unusual in that he disapproved of Heraclius's attempt at mass conversion; indeed it is difficult to imagine that there could really have been thousands of converts as a result of the decree, as Maximus claims, if nothing else because of its timing on the eve of the Arab conquests.[33] As for the latter, Maximus's views are not dissimilar to those expressed by his friend Sophronius in his famous Christmas homily of AD 634, when he had just become patriarch of Jerusalem, only to find Arabs occupying Bethlehem;[34] both employ the heightened rhetoric of apocalyptic and divine punishment.

The main impact of John Moschus, Sophronius and Maximus in N. Africa was in relation to religious politics and doctrinal division. N. Africa, not penetrated by the Persian armies, and with its tradition of opposition to imperial conciliation of monophysitism, was a logical centre for Chalcedonian activists. John Moschus had become a monk at the monastery of S. Theodosius in Judaea; Sophronius, born in Damascus, was his close friend and colleague; Maximus, it seems from the Syriac *Life,* also came from Palestine and became a monk at S. Chariton, near

33. The main evidence comes from a passage belonging to Maximus's letter to a certain John of Cyzicus, probably head of a monastery in Palestine where Maximus had lived earlier, and preserved separately from the rest of the letter: see Devreesse, n. 28, and see Dagron, *TM* 11 (1991), 30-32 for a new translation and discussion, with 39-40 (comparison with *Ep.* 14, *PG* 91.533-44, written a few years later).

34. Ed. H. Usener, 'Die Weihnachtspredigt von Sophronius', *RhMus.*, ser. 3, 41 (1886), 500-16.

Tekoa.[35] Thus strong links were formed between N. Africa and the Chalcedonians of Palestine who were bitterly opposed to imperial monothelitism.[36] Both Maximus and Sophronius were active in calling a synod on Cyprus, whose archbishop, Arcadius, was wavering in his allegiance.[37] If Maximus was still in Africa at the time (AD 634), then this would be an interesting example of links of communication between Africa and the eastern provinces, and even if not, one can still assume that such communication was in existence.

After Sophronius' death at an advanced age, which fell soon after the surrender of Jerusalem, Maximus was left as the leader of the Chalcedonian opposition. His *pièce de résistance* was his public debate in Carthage in AD 645 (held in Greek) with the former patriarch of Constantinople, Pyrrhus.[38] This was an extraordinary occasion, when politics, local interest and religious interest all met. Pyrrhus, a monothelite, had fled to Carthage amid the political turmoil that followed the death of Heraclius in 641, and his formal deposition was demanded by the Greek pope Theodore. The debate between Pyrrhus and Maximus was called and orchestrated by the exarch Gregory, shortly afterwards to declare his independence from Constantinople and be defeated and killed in battle by the Arabs near Sbeitla; after it, the defeated Pyrrhus confessed his mistakes and went to Rome for papal forgiveness.[39] Rome, Constantinople and Carthage were the poles of a conflict which was political as well as religious. Ironically, the Greek-

35. Moschus: Chadwick, 49; Sophronius: ib., 49-55; C. Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1972). For Maximus see the Syriac monothelite *Life* published by Brock ('An Early Syriac Life'; Winkelmann, *Klio* 1987, no. 172), in preference to the later Greek *Life* (BHG^3 1234; Winkelmann, *Klio* 1987, no. 171; see R. Devreesse, 'La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions'. *ABoll.* 46 (1928), 5-49). Further work is in progress on the dossier pertaining to Maximus's life: see P. Allen, 'Blue-print for the edition of documents ad vitam Maximi Confessoris spectantia', in C. Laga et al., eds., *After Chalcedon. Studies offered to Albert Van Roey,* OLA 18 (Leuven, 1985), 11-21. However, the Syriac *Life* is not very helpful in relation to the dates of Maximus's stay(s) in Africa: Brock, 324-25.

36. See also J.M. Garrigues, *Maxime le Confesseur. La charité, avenir divin de l'homme* (Paris, 1976), 42 ff.

37. See Winkelmann, *Klio* 1987, nos. 29 ff.; Brock , §§ 8-16; for the Syriac version of Sophronius's letter to Arcadius see M. Albert, *PO* 180 (1978).

38. *PG* 91.288-353; Winkelmann, *Klio* 1987, no. 92; J.L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I bis Johannes VI (610-715)* (Amsterdam, 1972), 82-87; John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 304 ff.; Cameron, 'Byzantine Africa', 53-54.

39. See Haldon, 304-307.

speaking Palestinian Maximus now found himself the unopposed leader of the African church. Several local councils endorsed Maximus's stand, and sent letters to that effect to Constantinople, thus encouraging Gregory in his ill-fated coup. Maximus's stand did not benefit him for long: Pyrrhus recanted and was restored, and Pope Martin I and Maximus himself were both exiled and the latter mutilated.[40] A curtain now falls on Byzantine Africa from the cultural point of view, even though it remained technically a Byzantine province and was even the recipient of economic aid from the imperial government.

The situation of N. Africa in relation to the Arab conquests was thus quite different from that of Syria, Palestine and indeed its neighbour Egypt. There were some monophysites to be found in the province, especially those who had fled from provinces further east: these included a community of monophysite nuns whom the Empress Martina tried to protect in AD 641,[41] and whom George, the then prefect of Africa, a Chalcedonian and a friend of Maximus, attempted to convert to orthodoxy; this attempted imperial intervention led to the recall of George, Maximus's friend and ally, and gave rise to much indignation and recrimination, during which Maximus retained his position as champion of orthodoxy in Carthage.[42] We also hear of a monastery of eighty-seven Nestorian monks, supposedly from Nisibis, near Bizerta.[43] But the general feeling was strongly Chalcedonian, to the point of a willingness to riot on behalf of orthodoxy on the part of the people of Carthage. This also meant staunch opposition to imperial monothelitism, which reinforced the province's old ties with Rome. The general population of N. Africa lacked the allegiance to monophysitism which is commonly held to have made the Arab conquest of the eastern provinces easy and to have aided subsequent conversion to Islam. Yet for all that, it was in N. Africa that Islamicisation was the more thoroughgoing.[44]

N. Africa in the sixth and seventh centuries thus enjoyed a degree of penetration, in some quarters at least, by Greek and eastern cultural

40. For the complicated events of these years see Van Dieten, 101 ff.; Haldon, 309-313. Materials relating to Maximus's first trial (AD 655): *PG* 90. 109-205; see Winkelmann, *Klio* 1987, no. 132. He was questioned in the palace before the senate, and accused among other things of betraying Egypt and Africa to the Saracens.

41. *PG* 91.460.

42. *PG* 91.371-74; 460-64; 647A-B (George's charitable acts to the poor and needy); see Chadwick, 46, n. 2.

43. Brock, 'Early Syriac Life', 317 (§ 19), see Brock, 326.

44. See Chadwick, 71, n. 1.

influences, together with a few moments of high drama. Its subsequent history meant that Greek did not succeed in establishing itself here as it did in Sicily and S. Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries. Nevertheless, at least for a limited period, its traditionally Latin brand of Christianity was tempered with eastern connections, especially with Palestine and with the Palestinian Chalcedonian opposition to monothelitism identified with the influence of the Judaean monasteries. One of the greatest figures in the history of the eastern church, Maximus Confessor rallied the African church and brought to it his own orthodox theology. One of the many ironies of the story, and a further indicator of the general neglect of N. Africa in modern scholarship, is the fact that Maximus's stay in Africa, and his influence on the African church, are rarely even mentioned in the handbooks of orthodox theology in which he assumes such a major place. Indeed, he and John Damascene alike (who spent all his productive career as a theologian at the Mar Saba monastery at Jerusalem under the Umayyad caliphate) are commonly claimed straightforwardly as the greatest early Byzantine theologians. It is even more ironic that after the Byzantine reconquest of N. Africa this final Greek influence on N. Africa should have originated not from Constantinople but in out and out opposition to the doctrines and policies which Constantinople was attempting to enforce.

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The conquest of Alexandria according to the early Arab historians: A critical appraisal

One of the most puzzling questions in early Islamic history is how and why the Arabs of the Peninsula, united under the banner of a new religious system, literally burst into the heartlands of the Middle East and began a conquest that continued unabated, lasting almost exactly one hundred years. The Prophet died in A.D. 632: his first successor, Abū Bakr, brought the "apostates" back to Islam; and then a series of military campaigns were organized, ending in A.D. 732 and resulting in the occupation of vast territories stretching from Spain and Morocco in the west to the borders of India and China in the east. Did "fully-armed angels" actually fight on the Arab side?

Next to the Prophet and his mission, and the Qur'ān and its compilation, the Arab conquests *(futūḥ al-buldān)* are perhaps the greatest achievement of the Arabs during the early Islamic period. That is no doubt why the early Muslim historians, writing in proud Arabic, collected every possible piece of information from extant oral accounts and wrote them down in extreme and colorful detail – thus preserving for future generations the great story of the conquests, demonstrating to themselves and to countless other firm believers the ascendancy, power, and glory of universal Islam. These multi-volume works are a mine of information on the battles fought and won, on the cities besieged and conquered, on the commanders who led the Arab warriors into strange and distant lands, and on the various societies subdued and "accepted" into the new Islamic order.

As is to be expected, the strategy and tactics of the conquests are very difficult to ascertain in these early Arabic sources. And, it goes without saying, the accounts as we have them cannot be taken at their face value.

However, a close reading of this material in the spirit in which it was collected and written down allows the modern historian to reflect on certain aspects of the conquests which would place them in their proper perspective. Taking the conquest of Alexandria, and of Egypt in general, as a case study, such things as a) the strong and complex personality of the commander of the Arab forces ('Amr) and to a lesser extent that of Cyrus "al-Muqauqis", b) the caution exercised by the Arabian head of state ('Umar, the second Caliph) and the erratic policies of the already defeated Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, c) the religious and social confusion in Egypt demonstrated by the alien Orthodox Byzantine presence and the local Monophysite Coptic population leading to the vexing question of collaboration by the latter with the new Arab conquerors, d) the attempt by a tribal and unsophisticated people to rule an ancient settled land – these and other aspects of the conquest will ultimately provide the historian and his readers with a proper understanding of the momentous events that had taken place.

The Arab historians shed very useful light on these circumstantial aspects of the conquest, which the present paper aims to appraise.

I. There are indications in all the early Arabic sources that 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, actually tricked the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb into letting him lead a contingent of Arab warriors and head towards the valley of the Nile. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, in his *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā,* gives a detailed account of how 'Amr engineered the entire expedition. "In the year A.H. 18, when the Caliph 'Umar was at al-Jābiyah [having come there to accept the surrender of Jerusalem], 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ met with him secretly and asked his permission to march to Egypt; for 'Amr had been to Egypt in pre-Islamic times, knew its topography, and had seen its great wealth." (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 53). This author then gives a long account of how 'Amr had at one time gone to Jerusalem to trade and with him was a group of merchants from Quraysh, and how there he met a Byzantine monk *(shammās)* from Alexandria who had come to Jerusalem to pray (at the church of the Holy Sepulchre). The two of them soon became friends, and the monk invited 'Amr to go with him to Alexandria... "and so, 'Amr knew the entrances and exits of Egypt, and learned that it was the greatest of countries and the wealthiest." *(Ibid.,* 55).

In a similar account, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam says that when 'Amr asked the Caliph's permission to march against Egypt he urged him to conquer it and said, "its conquest will strengthen the Muslims and be of assistance to them [in further conquests?]," and added that it is the wealthiest country in the world and the weakest in war. *(Ibid.,* 56). It has been argued that the conquest of Egypt, especially of Alexandria, would strengthen the position of the Arabs in Syria after its conquest; for the attempts of the Byzantine forces to harrass the Arabs in Caesaria and Antioch came by sea from Alexandria. (See Hill's "Commentary" on all the available Arabic sourses and on John of Nikiou's *Chronicle,* pp. 45-53; and Shaban, ch. 3, " 'Umar and the Conquests", p. 31 ff.).

However, the same source states that 'Amr was in Palestine, and from there proceeded to Egypt with his men "without permission *(bi-ghayr idhn).* He had been stationed in Caesaria with the rest of the garrison, and had ordered his men to gather and move out at night. When the other commanders learned about that they protested to the Caliph that 'Amr had misled *(gharrara)* his men. On another occasion, we are told that the Caliph discussed the Egyptian expedition with 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (who will succeed 'Umar in the Caliphate). 'Uthman said, "O Commander of the Faithful, 'Amr is ambitious and possesses audacity and love of command; I am afraid if he moves against Egypt without trust and the proper support he will endanger the lives of the Muslims in the hope of an opportunity which he does not know if he will be able to achieve it." *(Ibid.,* 57-58).

Ṭabarī, in the events of the year A.H. 20 (IV:104 ff.), after pointing out that there is disagreement among traditionalists *(ahl al-siyar)* concerning the year of the conquest, states simply that, "When 'Umar completed the conquest of Syria he wrote to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī to march with his troops against Egypt. 'Amr did and conquered Bāb-Ilyūn (Babylon) in the year 20." Ibn al-Athīr does not add much to the short account in Ṭabarī. (Ibn al-Athīr, II:64 ff.). He does, however, point out to the discrepancy in the year of the conquest.

Balādhurī, perhaps the most sober of these early historians, states categorically that 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī beseiged Caesaria after the battle of Yarmūq; then when Yazīd ibn Abū Sufyān was made governor (of Palestine?) 'Amr appointed his son (to look after the seige?) and proceeded to Egypt on his own *(min tilqā' nafsih)* at the head of 3,500 men. The Caliph 'Umar wrote to him reproaching him and rebuking him for carrying out an expedition without recourse to the opinion of the Caliph. (Balādhurī, Part I, 249).

According to al-Kindī's "Kitāb Tasmiyat Wulāt Miṣr" (edited by N.A. Koenig under the title: *The History of the Governors of Egypt)* 'Amr was in charge of a region *(rab')* in Palestine (perhaps around Caesaria) when he decided to march against Egypt "without permission" *(bi-ghayr idhn),*

which irritated the Caliph 'Umar who then wrote to him the famous instructions to return if he was still outside Egyptian territory. 'Umar's letter is mentioned in all the Arabic sourses with additional embelishments. Its authenticity may be questioned, although it does add to the commander's trickery, or perhaps ingenuity. (Kindī, 2-3).

Writing long after these early historians, Ibn Khaldūn does not go into explaining this controversy. He says simply that 'Amr asked the Caliph's permission to conquer Egypt, and that 'Umar allowed him to proceed *(aghzāhu).* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarikh,* II, 970-73).

Finally, Mas'ūdī (in *Murūj,* III, 212-213), after giving a few details about 'Amr (e.g., he died in A.H. 43 at 90 years of age; he was *wālī* in Egypt for 10 years and 4 months; and he describes his estate which was quite extensive) quotes three lines of poetry by Ibn al-Zubayr al-Asdi (?) in which the words *iḥtiyāl* (trickery) and *makā'id* (tricks) are used.

Whether these activities of 'Amr leading to launching the attack on Egypt and Alexandria and bringing the campaign to a resounding conclusion should be taken to demonstrate the single-mindedness of the commander (making Hill state rather enthusiastically: "It can be taken as an established fact that 'Amr was a great general..." p. 48), or whether these accounts were made by the Arab historians as a *post hoc propter hoc* argument to justify a victory that occured long before these historians recorded the various oral traditions remains an open question. 'Amr's later role in Islamic history, especially in the arbitration incident between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, tends to give more credence to his earlier individualism.

Compared to 'Amr, the leader of the Byzantine side (Cyrus al-Muqauqis) remains a shadowy figure. Naturally enough, the Arab historians were not as well informed about the enemy as they were about 'Amr and his men. And in any case, they were not as much interested in the Byzantine defeat as they were in the Arab victory. He is represented as being cruel and vascillating: cruel in suppressing the Monophysite Copts, and vascillating in his attempts to satisfy the Arabian forces. He appears to have been totally unable to judge the strength of the Arab assault on the Byzantine province. Ṭabarī, for example, describes as follows Cyrus' attempt to settle the initial phase of the conquest: "The governor of Alexandria sent word to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī saying: I used to send the tribute *(jizyah)* to the Persians and to the Byzantines who are more hateful to me than you, Arabs. If therefore you want me to pay the tribute to you on condition you will send back the prisoners you took from my land I will do so." (Ṭabarī, IV, 105). 'Amr refused this condition and

demanded one of three terms: either surrender and acceptance of Islam, pay tribute without conditions, or fighting until victory or defeat. (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 65). The outcome seemed inevitable!

II. Both attacker and defender had to cope each with his central government — 'Amr with 'Umar the Caliph whether in al-Jābiyah or in Medina, and Cyrus with the Emperor Heraclius who, after his defeat in Syria had returned ignominiously to his capital city Constantinople soon to die the year Alexandria was finally conquered.

'Umar, all Arab historians seem to agree, was a cautious ruler, certainly not adventurous, manifesting a high degree of responsibility. Also a good organizer, the St. Paul of Islam if such a comparison can be made. At first, he tried to stop 'Amr from going too far; but later when he realized that the campaign had advanced, he sent the necessary reinforcements to the tune of 12,000 men to beef up 'Amr original 3,500. The relations between the two, though strained at times, was that of an inferior to a superior. 'Amr always consulted the Caliph. When negotiations first took place between 'Amr and Cyrus (the latter offering tribute), the Arab commander stated his position as follows, according to Ṭabarī (IV, 195): "My responsibility is to an *amīr* [i.e., Amīr al-Mu'minīn] whose orders I cannot disobey. If you want, we can disengage so that I can write to him about your proposal. If he agrees I will follow his instructions, but if he orders otherwise I will have to comply." True to his cautious character, 'Umar is said to have replied: "Indeed, a tribute for us and for the Muslims after us is preferable to me than territory to be partitioned *(aḥabbu ilayya min fay'in yuqsam)*" (Ibid.).

The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius on the other hand appears to be a blistering fool. Listen to him, in the words of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (p. 71), when he heard about the Arab advance into Egypt and his representative's attempt to make peace with the conquerors. In reply to a communication from Cyrus, the Emperor is "quoted" as having said in reply: "The Arabs have come against you with 12,000 men while in Egypt there is an innumerable number of Copts. If the Copts refuse to fight, prefer to pay tribute to the Arabs, and have chosen the Arabs over us, you still have a Byzantine army in Egypt and Alexandria which numbers more than 100,000 men well-armed and pwerful. The state of the Arabs, as you have seen (?), is weak. You were incapable of fighting them, and had agreed – you and the Byzantine army with you – to be servile like the Copts. I instruct you to fight them with the army you have at your command: either you die in battle or prevail over them. With your large number and strength, and their small number and weakness, you ought

to be able to vanquish them. Do not entertain any other opinion." This from a person who has just been decisively beaten in Syria, and must be licking his wounds in Constantinople!

III. The vexing problem of "collaboration" between the Coptic population of Egypt and the conquering Arab armies is not easy to resolve. There is no doubt that the Arabs differentiated between the native population and the Byzantine military presence in the country. However, observations made by V. Christides in a recent article on "Miṣr" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* (Volume VII, Fascicules 117-118, 1991), which he collaborated in writing, are worth noting. "Moreover, it should be emphasized," he says at one point, "that there was no clear separation between Coptic and Greek ethnic elements in Egypt on the eve of the Arab invasion." (p. 153). Later, in discussing the terms of the final treaty of surrender (preserved in some form by Ṭabarī, IV, 109, and others), Christides adds that "by the 7th century a mixed race of Hellenes-Egyptians had developed in the towns and frontiers of Egypt, where there was no distinction between Hellenised Egyptians and Egyptianised Greeks." *(Ibid.,* 154).

As is to be expected, there are traditions going back to the Prophet (reported in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, pp. 2-4, and elsewhere) that the Copts should be treated well. "When you conquer Egypt," says one tradition, "take good care of the Copts, for we owe them protection and there are blood ties between us." It used to be said that the mother of Isma'il son of the prophet Ibrahim was a Copt. Another tradition gives a more specific reason to treat the Copts well: "You will find them the best of helpers in fighting your enemies." It is said that 'Amr, in a Friday sermon, (while urging the Arabs to live in peace with their Coptic neighbors) referred to this Prophetic tradition which, he said, he had heard on the authority of the Caliph 'Umar.

In one engagement concerning three villages (named in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 83) Coptic prisoners were taken and sent to Medina and to other places. The Caliph 'Umar, we are told, "sent them back to their villages and instructed that they be treated as *dhimmīs."*

Hill states that "the local people were not alienated", and that 'Amr, as a sign of his generalship, tried to ensure "if possible, the goodwill of the local populace." (p. 48). He quotes a statement from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam ('Amr required the people of Umm Dunayn? to provide every Muslim with one dinar, one burnus, one jubba, one turban and one pair of shoes. The local people then prepared a meal for the Muslims. Hill's translation, p. 42) concerning the treatment of the local population, which he considers "an accurate account of the kind of arrangements made." (p. 48). Specific mention is made in the Arab historians (and also in John of Nikiou's chronicle) that the Copts assisted the Arabs in bridge building and repairs.

In the final treaty that ended the Egyptian campaign (quoted in Ṭabarī, see above, and translated with extensive commentary by Butler, and added to the new reprint of his *The Arab Conquest of Egypt,* 1978), the treatment of the Egyptian people is spelt out in "Article I" as follows: "This is what 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī granted the people of Miṣr – to wit, security for their persons and their religion and their property, their churches and their crosses, their land and their water. In none of these things shall there be any encroachment nor any abatement of their rights." (Translation by Butler, p. 33 of the additional article). The addition of "their churches and their crosses" (which, incidentally, was the general policy during the early stages of the Arab conquest regarding the religious affiliation of the conquered people) must have put to rest the issue of Coptic Monophysitism versus Byzantine Orthodoxy which had vexed the relation between the beliefs of the rulers and the faith of their subjects for centuries. The Arab dictum, "There is no compulsion in religion" *(Lā ikrāha fī al-dīn)* prevailed under the new order.

IV. Finally, the system of Arab rule during the early stages of the conquest is at best haphazard. Mention is made by the Arab historians of the "standard" one dinar per head as *jizyah,* except for women and children. 'Amr apparently did not make definitive arrangements; and in any case he was removed from the "governorship" when 'Uthmān took over the Caliphate after 'Umar's death. And already, during the three or four years between the initial conquest of Alexandria and its final conquest. 'Amr was engaged in campaigns further west in Cyrenaica (Libya). Balādhurī (in *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* I, 261) gives a somewhat detailed pricture which, though confused, must have prevailed at the time: " 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī conquered Alexandria, and the Muslims settled in it in their *ribāṭ* (garrison?). Then they left [after the temporary Byzantine reconquest under Manuel]. Then they attacked again and headed to the houses [which they previously occupied]. The man used to come to the house which he had occupied only to find that its owner had returned and showed up. 'Amr [realizing what had taken place] said that he was afraid the houses might be destroyed if his men and the original owners quarreled over them. When he attacked again and his troops reached al-Kiryawn (Chaereum) he told his men: Go on with God's blessing; whoever fixes his spear in a house it belongs to him and his children. A

man used to enter a house and fix his spear in one of its sections, while another man will also do the same. Thus a house would be shared by two or three men who would live in it. If they withdrew, the Byzantine troops would reclaim it. The authority reporting this account (Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb) used to say: No one had the right to rent the house, and it cannot be sold or left as inheritance. It was only a dwelling for them in the days of their *ribāṭ*.

Such was the situation, quite accurately described, of an army on the move. It was particularly so due to the fact that when Alexandria was at first conquered *ṣulḥan* a small garrison was left behind, which was forced to withdraw (with heavy losses) when the Byzantine army attempted its reconquest. More stringent steps were taken when 'Amr was recalled to conquer the city again, this time *'unwatan.* The walls had to be destroyed.

To conclude: In this short description of a specific engagement in the Arab-Muslim wars of conquest and expansion – that of the conquest of Alexandria and the skirmishes leading to its ultimate downfall – four major factors were emphasized to demonstrate the success of the Arab invaders against supposedly great odds: the complex personality of the field commanders ('Amr and Cyrus al-Muqauqis), the policy of the central government in its contact with the field of operations ('Umar in Medina and Heraclius in Constantinople), the social composition of the inhabitants of the region to be conquered and their allegiance (the Copts in Egypt and the foreign Byzantine military presence), and finally, the beginning of actual Arab-Muslim rule in regions and over peoples whom the Arabians knew only superficially, if at all, and the application of a "colonial" system which the central government in Medina had to devise without previous experience. The move, in such a short time, from a tribal society of warring clans to an "imperial" rule over distant peoples and strange lands must have been totally unusual to the Arab warriors in the field and their tribal leaders. And although 'Umar in Medina was said to have started a new system of administration (no doubt with provincial applications), it may be safely assumed that the "imperial" aspect of government took some time to mature.

The leadership in Medina (especially 'Umar) may have started something along the line of governing newly conquered lands; but it was becoming progressively clear that to rule the fast-growing "empire" a move needed to be made to bring the central government to a location from which Arab rule could be more effectively exercised. Hence the move to Damascus in Syria, and the relegation of the Medina-Mecca axis in the Ḥijāz to a holy shrine *(ḥaram).*

In the "Conclusions" (pp. 251-271) to his remarkable study on *The Early Islamic Conquests* (dealing only with the conquest of Syria and Iraq, but equally applicable to the conquest of Egypt), Fred Donner sums up his views on the causes of the Islamic conquest and its success. After a detailed and highly interpretive and convincing discussion of the subject, Donner ends with the following powerful statement:

> The Muslims succeded, then, primarily because they were able to organize an effective conquest movement, and in this context the impact of the new religion of Islam, which provided the ideological underpinnings for this remarkable breakthrough in social organization, can be more fully appreciated. In this sense, the conquests were truly an *Islamic* movement. For it was Islam – the set of religious beliefs preached by Muḥammad, with its social and political ramifications – that ultimately sparked the whole integration process and hence was the ultimate cause of the conquests' success. (p. 269).

'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ leading the troops inexorably towards Alexandria, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb keeping a watchful but cautious eye on his field commander and the troop movements, and the troops themselves performing as best they could in the siege and final subjugation of the great imperial city of Alexandria – all these individuals were first-generation Muslims who were performing their duty under "the unifying ideology of Islam." It was this driving force which guided the early Arab historians as they set down the record of the accounts of the conquests for their own edification and for the benefit of future generations.

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Δημήτριος ὁ *«ἄρξας Κυρήνης»* στήν επιγραφή IG XI_4 1097

Ἡ Κυρηναϊκή τῆς Λιβύης, μέ ἐπιφανέστερη ἀπό τίς ἑλληνικές της πόλεις τήν Κυρήνη, ἔχει πολυκύμαντη ἱστορία κατά τήν ἀρχαιότητα. Ἡ Κυρήνη ἐμπλέκεται ἰδιαίτερα κατά τόν 3 αἰ. π.Χ. στούς ἀγῶνες τῶν Διαδόχων (τῶν Ἐπιγόνων καλύτερα) καί συμμερίζεται τίς μεταπτώσεις καί τίς ἔριδες τῶν ἑλληνιστικῶν βασιλείων.

Κατά τόν 3 αἰ. καί μετά τόν θάνατο τοῦ βασιλέως Μάγα, πού ἐβασίλευσε μισό αἰῶνα (τό πρῶτο ἥμισυ σέ ἁδρές γραμμές τοῦ 3 αἰ.), ἡ χήρα του Ἀπάμα ἐκάλεσε ἀπό τήν Μακεδονία τόν Δημήτριο, τόν γιό τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ καί ἀδελφό τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ, γιά νά ἄρξει στήν Κυρήνη[1].

Δύο ἐρωτήματα ἐγείρει ἡ σχετική ἐνέργεια· τό πρῶτο ἀφορᾶ στόν ἴδιο τόν Δημήτριο· ποιός εἶναι καί γιατί προτιμήθηκε νά ἄρξει στήν Κυρήνη; Τό δεύτερο ἀφορᾶ στήν ἴδια τήν ἀρχή του· ποιό εἶδος ἀρχῆς ἄσκησε καί κάτω ἀπό ποιές συνθῆκες; Ἐδῶ θά περιορισθοῦμε μόνο στό πρῶτο καί αὐτό σέ γενικές γραμμές. Τό δεύτερο ἀπαιτεῖ εὐρύτερη διαπραγμάτευση, διότι ἀναφέρεται σέ πολιτειακά θέματα πολύπλοκα, ἰδιαίτερα κατά τήν ἑλληνιστική περίοδο.

Ὁ Πλούταρχος στόν βίο τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ (53,8) ἀναφέρει ὅτι ὁ βιογραφούμενος ἀποθνήσκων (τό 283 π.Χ.) *ἀπέλιπε... Ἀντίγονον μέν ἐκ Φίλας καί Στρατονίκην, δύο δέ Δημητρίους, τόν μέν Λεπτόν ἐξ Ἰλλυρίδος γυναικός, τόν δ' ἄρξαντα Κυρήνης ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος...* Ἀναφέρονται συνολικά ἀπό τόν Πλούταρχο 6 τέκνα τοῦ Δημητρίου (Ἀντίγονος, Στρατονίκη, 2 Δημήτριοι, Ἀλέξανδρος καί Κόρραγος ἴσως) ἀπό 4 γυναῖκες (τήν Φίλα, μία ἀνώνυμη ἀπό τήν Ἰλλυρία, τήν Πτολεμαΐδα καί τήν Εὐρυδίκη). Οἱ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ ἐβασίλευσαν στήν Μακεδονία ἐπί ἕνα καί παραπάνω αἰῶνα,

1. Iust. XXVI, 2,3. Πλουτ. Δημ. 53,8. Εὐσ. I, 238 καί 243.

μέχρι τόν βασιλέα Περσέα, καί ἀποτελοῦν τήν δυναστεία τῶν Ἀντιγονιδῶν (τό ὄνομα ἀπό τόν πατέρα τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκ. Ἀντίγονο τόν Μονόφθαλμο).

Ἡ μεγάλη αὐτή δυναστεία τελειώνει μέ τήν ὑποταγή τῆς Μακεδονίας στούς Ρωμαίους (τό 168 π.Χ.). Εἶναι ἡ τρίτη δυναστεία τοῦ ἐνδόξου βασιλείου τῆς Μακεδονίας. Προηγοῦνται οἱ δυναστεῖες τῶν Τημενιδῶν καί τῶν Ἀντιπατριδῶν. Οἱ δυναστεῖες αὐτές ἀνάγονται σέ κοινό μυθικό πρόγονο, τόν Ἡρακλῆ, ὅπως καί ἄλλοι ἑλληνικοί βασιλικοί οἶκοι (π.χ. τῆς Σπάρτης). Τό βασίλειο τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐξ ἄλλου ἦταν ἐκεῖνο πού ἔκαμε τό μεγάλο ἄνοιγμα πρός τήν Ἀνατολή (τήν Ἀσία καί τήν Ἀφρική) καί προετοίμασε τόν ὅλο ἑλληνιστικό κόσμο, μέσα στόν ὁποῖο ἐντάσσεται καί ἡ Κυρηναϊκή.

Ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Δημήτριος, πού μᾶς ἀπασχολεῖ, ὡς γιός τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος, πού ἦταν κόρη τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Α΄ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἔχει στενούς δεσμούς συγγενείας πρός τό μεγάλο ἑλληνιστικό βασίλειο τῆς Αἰγύπτου, πού συνορεύει πρός τήν Κυρηναϊκή καί οἱ δεσμοί των παρουσιάζουν ἐξαιρετικό ἐνδιαφέρον. Ὁ Δημήτριος ἑπομένως προέρχεται ἀπό πατέρα τῆς δυναστείας τῶν Ἀντιγονιδῶν καί ἀπό μητέρα τῆς δυναστείας τῶν Πτολεμαίων. Στό πρόσωπό του συνδυάζονται κατά κάποιο τρόπο τά δύο βασίλεια καί δέν ξέρομε ἄν αὐτή του ἀκριβῶς ἡ ἰδιότητα συνετέλεσε στήν ἐπιλογή του.

Περισσότερο μᾶς ἐνδιαφέρει ἐδῶ ἡ πολιτειακή θέση αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δημητρίου κατά τόν χρόνο τῆς ἐπιλογῆς του. Εἶχε κάποια ὑπεύθυνη θέση στήν αὐλική ἱεραρχία τῆς Μακεδονίας ἤ ἦταν ἰδιώτης;

Ἀπάντηση στό ἐρώτημα αὐτό θά μᾶς δώσει ἴσως μιά σημαντική τετράστιχη ἐπιγραφή ἀπό τήν Δῆλο, τό πανελλήνιο νησιωτικό θρησκευτικό κέντρο. Πρόκειται γιά τήν γνωστή τώρα ἐπιγραφή μέ τά στοιχεῖα IG XI_4 1097 ἤ Syll.[3] 518.

Ἡ ἐπιγραφή αὐτή τῆς Δήλου βρέθηκε στό κτήριο τῶν Ποσειδωνιαστῶν τῆς Βηρυτοῦ στίς ἀρχές τοῦ αἰῶνά μας (τό 1905) καί ἐκδόθηκε ἀπό τόν διάσημο Γάλλο ἐπιγραφικό Holleaux (τό 1907)[2].

Ἡ ἐπιγραφή αὐτή ἔχει τεράστια σημασία ὄχι μόνο γιά τό μεμονωμένο θέμα πού μᾶς ἀπασχολεῖ ἀλλά καί γιά τήν γενικώτερη πολιτειακή ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας καί τοῦ ὅλου ἑλληνιστικοῦ κόσμου. Ἐδῶ ὅμως θά γίνουν μόνο μερικές φευγαλέες νύξεις. Παρά τήν σημασία της ὅμως πού ἀναγνωρίσθηκε περισσότερο, πιστεύω, ὕστερα ἀπό σχετική ἀνακοίνωσή μου στό VIII Διεθνές Συνέδριο γιά τήν Ἑλληνική καί Λατινική Ἐπιγραφική (1982), ἡ ἐπιγραφή αὐτή δέν βρίσκεται Deli in museo, ὅπως μᾶς βεβαιώνουν οἱ IG, ἀλλά στόν ἐλεύθερο χῶρο, πολύ μακριά ἀπό τό Μουσεῖο τῆς Δήλου. Ἔτσι καταπονοῦνται ὅσοι τήν ἀναζητοῦν στό Μουσεῖο καί δέν ξέρω πόσοι τελικά τήν βρίσκουν στό χῶρο πού βρίσκεται.

2. M. Holleaux, Dédicace d'un monument commémoratif de la bataille de Sellasia, BCH XXIX, 1907, σ. 94-114.

Σώζεται τό ἀριστερό μόνο μέρος τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς· δέν ξέρομε σέ πόση ἀναλογία. Ἡ ἐπιγραφή σήμερα ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑ
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΙ
ΣΕΛΛΑΣΙΑΝ ΜΑ

Εἶναι φανερό ἀπό τό σωζόμενο μέρος ὅτι πρόκειται περί ἀφιερώματος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου ὕστερα ἀπό τήν μάχη τῆς Σελλασίας. Εἶναι ὁ βασιλεύς τῆς Μακεδονίας Ἀντίγονος Γ΄ ὁ Δώσων πού κάνει αὐτό τό ἀφιέρωμα ὕστερα ἀπό τήν νίκη του στήν Σελλασία (τό 222 π.Χ.) ἐναντίον τοῦ μεταρρυθμιστοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Σπάρτης Κλεομένους Γ΄.

Στόν δεύτερο στίχο βλέπομε τόν Δημήτριο. Εἶναι ὁ πατέρας τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου πού κάνει τό ἀφιέρωμα. Φαίνεται ἀπό τήν ἐπιγραφή, ὅπως σώζεται, κάποια ἰδιότητα τοῦ Δημητρίου προσδιοριστική τῆς θέσεώς του;

Ὁ πρῶτος ἐκδότης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ὁ M. Holleaux, ἔκαμε διάφορες συμπληρώσεις πού προϋποθέτουν περίπου διπλάσια ἔκτασή της. Ἡ μορφή πού παίρνει ἡ ἐπιγραφή μέ τίς συμπληρώσεις τοῦ Holleaux εἶναι:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟ[ΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑ[Ι ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΙ [ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ
ΣΕΛΛΑΣΙΑΝ ΜΑ[ΧΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ

Ο Holleaux ἐδιπλασίασε σχεδόν τήν ἐπιγραφή προσπαθώντας νά βολέψει διάφορα προβλήματά της. Μέ τήν συμπλήρωσή του παρουσιάζονται νά κάνουν τό ἀνάθημα τρεῖς παράγοντες: α΄) ὁ βασιλεύς Ἀντίγονος β΄) οἱ Μακεδόνες και γ΄) οἱ σύμμαχοι.

Οἱ συμπληρώσεις τοῦ Holleaux εἶναι αὐθαίρετες. Ὁ Holleaux ἀφορμήθηκε κυρίως ἀπό τά ΚΑ τοῦ δευτέρου στίχου. Ἀπό τίς ἡμιτελεῖς λέξεις τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς εἶναι ἐκείνη πού ὄχι μόνο παρουσιάζει δυσκολίες καθ' ἑαυτήν ἀλλά καί γιά τίς συνέπειες πού ἔχει ἡ ἀποδοχή τοῦ ΚΑ αὐτοῦ ὡς ΚΑΙ. Στήν περίπτωση αὐτή πρέπει νά βρεῖς τί συμπλέκεται μέ τόν Ἀντίγονο, μέ ἄλλα λόγια τί συνδέει αὐτός ὁ σύνδεσμος ΚΑΙ. Ἔτσι ὁ Holleaux ζήτησε τόν δεύτερο ἀναθέτη πού δέν εἶναι βέβαια οἱ σύμμαχοι, διότι πρό αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει ἄλλο ΚΑΙ. Ἔτσι ὁ Holleaux ἐτοποθετη-

σε ἐδῶ, ὡς δεύτερο ἀναθέτη, τούς Μακεδόνες.

Μέ τό νά μεγαλώσει ὅμως ὁ δεύτερος στίχος κατά τόν τρόπο αὐτό ἀναγκάσθηκε νά ἐπιμηκύνει (θά λέγαμε) καί τούς ἄλλους στίχους. Ἔτσι βρῆκε ἱκανοποιητικό νά προσθέσει στόν πρῶτο στίχο τό ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ καί νά κάμει ἄλλες (μικρότερης σημασίας) συμπληρώσεις στόν τρίτο καί τέταρτο στίχο.

Ποιό εἶναι τό ἀποτέλεσμα γιά τήν ἱστορία τῶν συμπληρώσεων αὐτῶν; Ὁ Δημήτριος τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μας κατασκευάσθηκε βασιλεύς, ἐνῶ οὐδέποτε ἐβασίλευσε, καί οἱ Μακεδόνες παρουσιάσθηκαν ὡς δεύτερος πολιτειακός παράγων στήν Μακεδονία. Ὁ Δημήτριος δέν ὑπῆρξε ποτέ βασιλεύς στήν Μακεδονία καί δέν ἦταν δυνατό νά παρουσιασθεῖ σέ ἕνα μάλιστα πανελλήνιο κέντρο, ἰσάξιο τῶν Δελφῶν, μέ ψευδῆ τίτλο.

Οἱ συνέπειες εἶναι μεγαλύτερες ὡς πρός τήν δεύτερη συμπλήρωση. Οἱ Μακεδόνες παρουσιάζονται ἔτσι ὡς δεύτερος πολιτειακός παράγων καί διχάζεται ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Μακεδονίας ἤ τουλάχιστον μειώνεται σέ κάποιο βαθμό. Ἔτσι ἐμφανίζεται καί στήν Μακεδονία σ' αὐτή τήν φάση τό γνωστό δυαδικό σχῆμα, ὡς στήν Ἀθήνα ἡ βουλή καί ὁ δῆμος *(ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καί τῷ δήμῳ)* και στην Ρώμη το senatus populusque Romanus. Ὅλοι οἱ ἀσχολούμενοι μέ τήν Μακεδονία (καί εἶναι πάμπολλοι) ὁμιλοῦν (ἀκολουθοῦντες τόν Holleaux) μετά τό 1907 γιά τό δυαδικό σχῆμα πού δέχονται ὅτι ἴσχυσε σ' αὐτή τήν φάση τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ βασιλείου, ἐνῶ ὅσοι ἱστορικοί ἔγραψαν πρό τοῦ 1907 οὔτε τόν Δημήτριο ἐκλαμβάνουν ὡς βασιλέα οὔτε δέχονται αὐτήν τήν εἰκόνα τῆς πολιτείας[3]. Ὅλα αὐτά γιά τό ΚΑ τοῦ δευτέρου στίχου πού ἔγινε ΚΑ[Ι ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ].

Μήπως ὅμως αὐτό ἀκριβῶς τό ΚΑ περιέχει κάποιο προσδιοριστικό τοῦ Δημητρίου καί δέν εἶναι σύνδεσμος; Ἡ λύση, πιστεύω, βρίσκεται στό *ἐπωνύμιον* (στό *cognomentum)* πού εἶχε δοθεῖ στόν Δημήτριο. Κατά τόν Εὐσέβιο (Ι 238 Schoene) οἱ Μακεδόνες *Καλόν ἐπωνόμαζον τόν Δημήτριο (πβ. τήν λατινική ἐκφορά: ad Demetrium Pulcrum). Τό ΚΑ* λοιπόν πρέπει νά γίνει *ΚΑΛΟΣ.* Ἐπονομαζότανε λοιπόν *Καλός (Pulcher)* καί τό συνοδευτικό αὐτό ἦταν ἀπαραίτητο νά τεθεῖ, διότι συνηθίζεται στούς ἑλληνιστικούς χρόνους αὐτή ἡ παράθεση, ἀλλά καί διότι ὑπῆρχαν καί ἄλλοι Δημήτριοι, πληθώρα θά λέγαμε, ἀφοῦ καί ὁ πατέρας του καί ἕνας ἀδελφός του ἀλλά καί πολλοί στήν Μακεδονία ἔτσι ὀνομάζοντο, ὡς ὁ πράγματι βασιλεύσας Δημήτριος Β΄ (239-229 π.Χ.), πού ἦταν

3. Βλ. Ἐ. Μικρογιαννάκη, Ἡ πολιτειακή θέση τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου Γ΄ (τοῦ Δώσωνος), ΕΕΦΣΠΑ, τ. ΚΗ΄ (1985), σ. 416, σημ. 7 καί 8.

ἀνεψιός τοῦ Δημητρίου τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μας. Ἡ σύγχυση μάλιστα μεταξύ τῶν δύο τελευταίων θεωρεῖται κατά τόν κορυφαῖο μελετητή τοῦ 3 αἰ. π.Χ. W.W. Tarn ἀναπόφευκτη (inevitable)[4]. Γι' αὐτό τόν λόγο, προτείνω, νά συμπληρωθεῖ ὁ δεύτερος στίχος μέ τό ΚΑΛΟΣ πού εἶναι πλήν τῶν ἄλλων πρόσφορο στά μάτια τῶν Ἑλλήνων πού κατά κανόνα φιλοκαλοῦν.

Μέ τίς διορθώσεις μας πού εἶναι ἁπλές (ἀπό μιά συλλαβή σέ ἐλλιπεῖς λέξεις τριῶν στίχων) ἡ ἐπιγραφή παίρνει τήν μορφή:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟ[ΝΟΣ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑ[ΛΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΙ
ΣΕΛΛΑΣΙΑΝ ΜΑΧΗΝ

Δέν θά ἐξετασθοῦν ἄλλα προβλήματα πού δημιουργοῦνται μέ τήν ἐπιγραφή καί σχετίζονται μέ γενικώτερα θέματα τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Μακεδονίας καί τοῦ ἑλληνιστικοῦ κόσμου. Ἄς σημειωθεῖ μόνο ἐδῶ ὅτι τό Σελλασία λαμβάνεται ὡς ἐπίθετο (ὅπως τό Ἀφροδίτη στό *Ἀφροδίτη πρᾶξις).* Ἡ Σελλασία, ἀπό τό σέλας, δηλώνει καί τόν τόπο πού ἔγινε ἡ μάχη ἀλλά καί τό λαμπροφόρο γεγονός πού ἀφιερώνεται στήν Δῆλο (παράξενο ἀλήθεια ὡς πολλά τῶν ἀναθημάτων)[5], γιά νά προβληθεῖ τό μέγα ἐπίτευγμα τοῦ γιοῦ τοῦ Δημητρίου, τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου Γ΄, πού μέ τήν νίκη του στήν Πελοπόννησο τό 222 π.Χ. ἔφερε κατά τόν Πολύβιο *κοινήν εἰρήνην τοῖς Ἕλλησι*[6].

Ὁ Δημήτριος ὁ Καλός κλήθηκε στήν Κυρήνη (τό 259 π.Χ.), γιά νά γίνει σύζυγος τῆς Βερενίκης, τῆς κόρης τοῦ βασιλέως Μάγα καί τῆς Ἀπάμας, καί ἄρχοντας, ἀλλά ὁ Ἄδωνις αὐτός συνῆψε ἐρωτικές σχέσεις μέ τήν (μέλλουσα) πενθερά του καί δολοφονήθηκε στήν ἀγκαλιά της μέ τήν σύμπραξη τῆς ἴδιας τῆς Βερενίκης. Ἡ Βερενίκη αὐτή εἶναι πασίγνωστη ὡς μετέπειτα σύζυγος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Γ΄ τοῦ Εὐεργέτη καί κυρίως γιά τόν πλόκαμό της πού ἔγινε ἀστερισμός, ὁ γνωστός πλόκαμος τῆς Βερενίκης, πού βρίσκεται μεταξύ Λέοντος καί Παρθένου στόν ἀστρικό χῶρο. Γιά τόν καταστερισμό αὐτό τοῦ πλοκάμου συνεργάσθηκε ἡ ποίηση μέ τόν Καλλίμαχο (πού ἐπαναλαμβάνεται ἀπό τόν Λατῖνο Κάτουλλο)[7] καί ἡ φυσική ἐπιστήμη μέ τόν ἀστρονόμο Κόνωνα.

Γιά τόν ἴδιο τόν Δημήτριο πού ἦταν ἐκπάγλου καλλονῆς καί λαμπρᾶς

4. W.W. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas, Oxford 1913 (ἀνατ. 1969), σ. 121 καί 323.
5. Βλ. π.χ. Ditt. Syll.[3] IV s.v. ἀνατίθημι. Ἀνατίθενται: *γραφαί* (ἀρ. 401), *Ἔρωτες* (ἀρ. 1136) κ.ἄ.
6. Πολυβ. IV, 3,8.
7. Βλ. A. Lesky, Ἱστ. τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑλλ. Λογοτεχνίας (μετάφρ. Ἀγ. Τσοπανάκη), σ. 975 κ.ἑ.

φιλοσοφικῆς παιδείας τό τέλος ἦταν τραγικό καί θεωρήθηκε πιό ἀξιομνημόνευτο ἀπό τούς συγχρόνους του παρά ἡ διακυβέρνησή του στήν Κυρήνη. Τό βάρος ἔπεσε στήν ρομαντική καί ὄχι στήν πολιτειακή ἱστορία.

ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΜΙΚΡΟΓΙΑΝΝΑΚΗΣ

Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān Al-Ṭarsūsī's *Siyar al-Thughūr* and the Last Years of Arab Rule in Tarsus (Fourth/Tenth Century)

Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭarsūsī wrote his *Siyar al-thughūr* "Ways of life, conduct, on the frontiers" at a time when the Greeks and Arabs had been contending for possession of the western or Syrian *thughūr* (literally, "gaps", i.e. ways of entry through the mountain barrier), the frontier zone which for some three centuries stretched in an arc along the Taurus Mountains from Tarsus near the Mediterranean coast through Cilicia to Malaṭya or Melitene and the mountains of eastern Anatolia.[1] We do not know exactly when Tarsus was first occupied by Arab forces operating from Syria, with a base at Antioch, but this may have taken place during the middle or later years of the first/seventh century. Undoubtedly, possession of this ancient city, with its glorious past going back through early Christian into classical Greek times, oscillated between the frontier warriors of the two great Near Eastern civilisations, the Byzantine *akritai* and the Muslim *ghuzāt* or *murābiṭūn* or *mujāhidūn* (the first being literally "those who engage in sudden raids", the second "those who man the frontier forts/religious retreats or *ribāṭs,* and the third "those who fight in the holy war, *jihād,* against the unbelievers, but with all three terms in practice largely interchangeable), until on Wednesday, 15 Sha'bān/15 August 965[2] its Muslim defenders surrendered the city to the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas. It was to remain in Christian

1. The history of Tarsus in the first centuries of the struggle between Byzantium and the Islamic caliphate will be given in a parallel study to the present one, "The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontier in early and middle 'Abbāsid times".

2. The date thus given by Ṭarsūsī, in *Shadharāt min kutub mafqūda fi 'l-ta'rīkh* (see below), 455.

hands – those of the Byzantine Greeks, the Latin Crusaders of the County of Antioch and the Armenians of the Rupenid kingdom of Little Armenia – until the Mamlūk Turkish Amīr Qalāwūn reconquered it for Islam in 1275.[3]

Of Abū 'Amr al-Ṭarsūsī we know only the bare outline of his life. It would appear from his *nisba* that he was a native of Tarsus and that in early life he studied *ḥadīth* and *qirā'āt* with its local scholars before journeying within Syria, to Damascus and Tripoli at least, in search of further knowledge. He wrote his book for Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far b. al-Furāt, called Ibn Ḥinzāba (308-91/921-1001),[4] who was vizier to the regent for the Ikhshīdids in Egypt, Kāfūr, and who was himself famed as a *muḥaddith,* being the composer of a *musnad,* and as a patron of scholars.[5] Ṭarsūsī, however, seems to have spent what we know of his life within Syria, functioning as qāḍī at Ma'arra and Aleppo. Hence, as Iḥsān 'Abbās has observed in his valuable introduction to his collection of the surviving extracts from Ṭarsūsī's *Siyar al-thughūr* (see below),[6] it is not clear what connection he had with Egypt nor whether his book dealt with other *thughūr* – since they are mentioned in the plural – than the Syrian one, such as the Jazīran or Mesopotamian one further east in Anatolia, or even with those in more distant parts of the Islamic world. He does provide some information on fortresses of Cilicia other than Tarsus, e.g. those of al-Maṣṣīṣa or Mopsuestis/Mamistra, Iqlīqiyya, Ḥiṣn Thābit b. Naṣr, Ḥiṣn 'Ujayf and Ḥiṣn al-Jawzāt.[7] But it is clear from internal evidence within the work (see below) that it was written after the fall of Tarsus in 354/965 and that its author had an intimate personal knowledge of the city and its people. He mentions what he had himself seen[8] and what he had heard from local notables and scholars of Tarsus, including the military commander there Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Yumn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zabadānī;[9] the commander of the *thaghr* Abu 'l-Faraj Abān b. Aḥmad;[10] and the traditionist

3. See, pending publication of the study mentioned in n. 1 above, Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems,* London 1890, 377-8, and *EI*[1] art. "Ṭarsūs" (F. Buhl).

4. Mention of the dedication to "the Vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far b. al-Faḍl" in Ṭarsūsī, 449.

5. See on him, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād,* Cairo 1349/1931, VII, 234-5, no. 3723; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb,* ed. D.S. Margoliouth, London 1923-31, II, 405-12; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān,* ed. Iḥsān 'Abbas, Beirut 1968-72, I, 346-50, no. 133, English tr. Baron M.G. de Slane, Paris 1842-71, I, 319-23; and see *EI*[2] art. "Ibn al-Furāt (5)" (D. Sourdel).

6. *Shadharāt,* 39 ff.

7. *Ibid.,* 456-9.

8. *Ibid.,* 43.

9. *Ibid.,* 41.

10. *Ibid.,* 46.

Abu 'l-'Abbās b. al-'Abbās al-Khawātīmī (d. 1 Ṣafar 354/6 February 965), son of the qāḍī of Tarsus.[11]

The *Siyar al-thughūr* is lost as a complete work, but was extensively cited by the great historian of Aleppo Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar b. Aḥmad, called Ibn al-'Adīm (588-660/1192-1262), in his biographical dictionary of literary men, scholars, rulers, commanders and other notable figures connected with Aleppo, the *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab,*[12] not least of whose features of importance is the extra-biographical information which it provides on e.g. geographical and topographical features. The late Marius Canard utilised the Istanbul manuscript of the *Bughya* to give some account of, amongst other things, Ṭarsūsī's information on his native city, although his pioneering work here does not seem to have attracted much subsequent notice.[13] Given the large size of Ibn al-'Adīm's work, publication of the whole work is still in progress; but Professor Iḥsān 'Abbās of the University of Jordan has now extracted from those volumes of it already published many of the citations there form Ṭarsūsī's *Siyar al-thughūr* and included them in his collection of historical passages from works otherwise lost or only partially known and contained within the two great historical-biographical works of both Ibn al-'Adīm and Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rīkh Dimashq (Shadharāt min kutub mafqūda fī ta'rīkh,* Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, Beirut 1408/1988, pp. 37-48, 439-59).

We have thus in our hands uniquely valuable material on the walls, the gates, the buildings, the topography and population structure of Tarsus, providing a much more detailed and lively picture of the city and its life than the accounts already known from the Arab geographers Ibn Ḥawqal (the more detailed of the two, although still very brief in comparison with Ṭarsūsī's work; Ibn Ḥawqal had visited Tarsus when it was still in Muslim hands but set down his account of it after the Byzantine reconquest)[14] and Yāqūt (who wrote over two-and-a-half centuries after the city was lost to Islam, but who used an unnamed contemporary source plus that of another contemporary or near-contemporary, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tan-

11. *Ibid.,* 47-8.

12. See on Ibn al-'Adīm, F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography,* 2nd edn., Leiden 1968, 170 and index s.v.; *EI*[2] art. s.v. (B. Lewis).

13. "Quelques observations sur l'introduction géographique de la Bughyat at'-t'alab de Kamâl ad-Dîn Ibn al-'Adîm d'Alep", *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger,* XV (1957), 47-53 = *Miscellanea orientalia,* Variorum Reprints, London 1973, no. X.

14. *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ,* ed. J.H. Kramers, Leiden 1938-9, I, 183-4. French tr. Gaston Wiet, *Configuration de la terre,* Paris 1964, I, 181-2; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems, loc. cit.*

ūkhī).[15] There is also prosopographical information on the religious dignitaries, scholars and ascetics who were living and working in Tarsus during the years immediately preceding the events of 354/965 (see further on these, below).

Above all, we have information on the organisation of Tarsus for what had always been (in addition to its rôle as a flourishing centre for Islamic intellectual and religious life, as Ṭarsūsī and other authorities demonstrate in several places[16]) the city's prime *raison d'être,* sc. as a base for *ghazw* into the *Dār al-Ḥarb* of Byzantine Anatolia, for the regular summer raids *(ṣawā'if),* faithfully listed in the Muslim historical annals, and for the more sporadic (given the extremely inhospitable climate and terrain of the Asia Minor plateau outside the summer months) winter ones.[17] Ṭarsūsī's material on the procedures for proclaiming in the Friday mosque of Tarsus, the summonse to arms for the *ghāzīs* and other enthusiastic fighters for the faith (translated verbatim below), and on the residences *(dārs, ribāṭs)* of the *mujāhidūn* who flocked to the city from as far away as Khurāsān (see below), is particularly extensive. Finally, Ṭarsūsī has much to say about events which must have left a deep imprint on his own mind, those connected with the last days of Muslim rule over the city as the Byzantine noose around it grew tighter: the fruitless appeals for help from the other powers of Islam and the last performance of the Friday worship there under free conditions before the surrender of Tarsus to Nicephorus (the account of this last is translated verbatim, below).

Ṭarsūsī's book obviously partook, as did so many local histories of the central and eastern Islamic lands, of the nature of an encomium of the peculiar virtues and special features *(manāqib, faḍā'il, khaṣā'iṣ*[18]) of Tarsus and the other nearby *thughūr,* and the texts are given of several traditions, some allegedly prophetic, other originating from such prolific early relaters of such material as Wahb b. Munabbih and Ka'b al-Aḥbār. Several of these traditions laud the virtues of *ghāzī* life and the certainty

15. *Mu'jam al-buldān,* Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, IV, 28-9.

16. See the extensive material on the *'ulamā'* of the city in Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Amsāb,* ed. M. 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān *et alii,* Hyderabad, Deccan 1382-1402/1962-82, IX, 65-7; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam,* IV, 29; and Ṭarsūsī, *passim,* including on the scholars of its Friday mosque (42-4, 47-8), its *imāms* (44-6, 47) its *khaṭībs* (46-7), its *muqrī's* (47), its *qāḍis* (47, 455), etc.

17. One section in Ṭarsūsī, 46, describes the reluctance of the *ghāzīs* to answer a call to arms by the frontier commander Abu 'l-Faraj Abān b. Aḥmad for a winter campaign, on account of the continuous downpouring of rain at that time of year.

18. Cf. *EI*² arts. "Faḍīla" (R. Sellheim) and "Manāḳib" (Ch. Pellat).

of heavenly reward for those taking part in the *jihād.* As examples, one may cite the following:

I have read, in the very hand of the Qāḍī Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Karajī *(sic:* read al-Ṭarsūsī?) and have related the following information from him: Abū 'Umayr 'Adī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī related to us ... from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī from Anas b. Mālik[19]: The Messenger of God came forth to us one day, with his tears streaming down on to his beard. (He related:) We said, O Messenger of God, by our forefathers and mothers! Who are these brethen of ours whom you have brought to mind and have become so deeply moved at their remembrance? He replied, A group from amongst my community who will reside in a town which will be built beyond the Sayḥān and Jayḥān [rivers];[20] and whoever has a life-span extending to that time, let him take his share [of life] in it (sc. the town), for indeed, a martyr *(shahīd)* from amongst that group of people will be equal in merit to the martyrs of Badr. By Him in Whose hand is my soul, God will certainly raise up from that town on the Resurrection Day 170,000 martyrs who will enter Paradise without having to undergo the testing process of the enumeration and balancing of virtues and vices. God – He is exalted and magnified – will look towards the people of that town seventy times each day, and every time He looks at them, His beneficence and compassion will be shed over them. God will be more tender towards that town than a mother towards her child. God will grant forgiveness to the people of that town every day at sunrise and sunset alike. They will continue to enjoy the state of righteousness, and it will stay permantently with them, until at the end of time, a group of them will combat Antichrist (al-Dajjāl). God will gather together (on the Day of Judgement, *yaḥshiru)* from that town 12,000 groups *(zumra),* each group containing 100,000 martyrs, and each martyr will have the power of intercession for 100,000 persons in addition to his own family and neighbours. The town's name is Tarsus in Arabic, Ibsūs in the Torah and Arsūs in the Gospels. It is the one which cried out to God at Jerusalem when this last was destroyed,

19. Sc. from the father of the great Medinan jurist and author of the *Muwaṭṭa',* Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796).

20. Sc. the Classical Sarus and Pyramus rivers, the Seyhan and Ceyhan of modern Turkey; see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* Cambridge 1905, 131-2.

and it has two gates which open around the Divine Throne; whoever of my community enters it (sc. the town) will have all his preceding sins forgiven, and any new ones will not be recorded against him. Divine blessings on everyone from My community who assembles (sc. for Judgement) from it, and further blessings upon him![21]

Other traditions given by Ṭarsūsī likewise vaunt the divine protection extended over the city's inhabitants, such as "One *takbīr* pronounced on the walls of Tarsus is equal in worth to a horse [ridden] in the way of God *(fī sabīl Allāh),* and whoever mounts a horse in the way of God, God will mount on one of the she-camels of Paradise".[22] Notable is an eschatological element in many of these traditions, in that the martyrs of Tarsus are given a rôle in the final struggle with Antichrist before the end of the world; such apocalyptic traditions, often emanating from Ka'b al-Aḥbār, had long been characteristically associated with certain towns of Syria.[23]

A very detailed description is given by Ṭarsūsī of the protective walls and fortifications of his city (whose significance for the defence of this bastion of Islam is underlined by traditions in which the Prophet swears on them[24]):

Tarsus was contained within two walls, each wall having five gates of iron. Those of the outer wall were covered with iron plating *(ḥadīd mulabbas)*[25], whilst those of the (inner) wall adjoining the trench and rampart *(khandaq)* were of solid iron *(ḥadīd muṣmat).* The first wall, adjacent to the inner city *(madīna),* was lofty and had upon it 18,000 vantage-points *(shurrāfa)* on which could be stationed, in time of military necessity, soldiers armed with a total of 16,000 bows [and] who could fire their arrows as one man. Also on this wall were towers *(burj),* a hundred in total. Three of these were for *ḥ.r.rī* (?)[26] mangonels *(majānīq),* twenty for large mangonels and twenty for ballistas *('arrādāt).*[27] The rest of them were for crossbows *(qisiyy al-rijl).* These towers which we have mentioned were

21. Ṭarsūsī, 443-4.

22. *Ibid.,* 446.

23. Cf. W. Madelung, "Apocalyptic prophesies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad age", *Jnal. of Semitic Studies,* XXXI (1986), 141-85.

24. Ṭarsūsī, 446, and see above, pp. !!!!!!!!!

25. On these various technical terms of construction and fortification, see "The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontier in early and middle 'Abbāsid times".

26. It is unclear to me what this word denotes.

27. The distinction in practice between a *manjanīq* and an *'arrāda* is not always clear; the two terms seem at times to be interchangeable, see D.R. Hill, *EI*[2] art. "Mandjanīk".

owned by individuals and served as residences for members of the permanent population *(muta'ahhilīn)* and temporarily resident warriors *('uzzāb,* literally, "batchelors"). One of the towers was used for the manufacture of paper *(al-waraq wa 'l-kāghid),* this being that adjoining the *zāwiya* of the rope-makers *(al-ḥabbālīn).*[28]

An equally detailed description is given of the repartition of the revenues from the tithes *(a'shār)* on the agricultural lands around Tarsus, used for various charitable and religious purposes and divided out at the tower protecting the Qalamiyya Gate of the city (sc. that on the south side of the city, leading to the port of Tarsus, the Classical one of Cydnus).[29] Amongst those regularly benefitting were the *ahl al-sharaf,* descendants of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār of the Prophet's time, who received regular allotments of wheat from these tithes on the basis of a register *(jarīda)* of those entitled to share in them and compiled at the behest of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) (possibly at the time when, towards the end of his reign, he became occupied with conditions on the Byzantine frontiers and campaigned there against the Byzantine emperor Theophilus, dying on the banks of the Budandūn or Podandos River in Cilicia and being buried at Tarsus),[30] this entitlement having been handed down hereditarily since that time. The shaykhs of the mosques of Tarsus each received six *mudds* of corn according to the Ṭughānī measure *(madā),* a more generous one, Ṭarsūsī explains, than the standard Baghdādī one.[31] Those Greek and Armenian guides whose services were given to the Muslims and were therefore in receipt of subsidies *(al-adillā' al-mu'allafa qulūbuhum min al-Rūm wa 'l-Arman)* drew allocations according to the prevailing attitude of the Muslim authorities in Tarsus towards them (i.e. whether their services were in demand at that time or not). Finally, what remained of this harvest of wheat was given to the baker who supplied non-Arab prisoners in the Tarsus jail *(al-a'lāj al-maḥbūsīn,* doubtless By-

28. Ṭarsūsī, 449.

29. Cf. *ibid.,* 450, where Ṭarsūsī names it as one of the city's five gates, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam,* IV, 392.

30. See A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine empire 324-1453,* Madison and Milwaukee 1952, I, 94-123.

31. See on this last, W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System,* Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband 1, Heft 1, Leiden 1955, 45-6; the local Tarsus measure must have been instituted or fixed by some Turkish commander there, either of the 'Abbāsids or possibly of the Ṭūlūnids, with the name of Ṭughān and associated with *ghazw* from Tarsus or the defence of the city (cf. the Farghānan commander Ṭughān mentioned as being arrested – at Sāmarrā? – in the year 269/882-3, in Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. Leiden, III, 2028).

zantine and Armenian captives awaiting ransoming). Any wheat left over from the collected *a'shār* was sold publicly at the prevailing rate and the proceeds used for public welfare and the general requirements of the city *(muhimmāt al-balad).* The barley collected as *'ushr* was allocated to the guides mentioned above as fodder for their mounts. All other constituent elements of the *a'shār* brought together at the tower of the Bāb al-Qalamiyya – olives, cummin, radishes, sesame, lupin seed and rice – were sold at market prices and the proceeds used on municipal purposes like those just mentioned above regarding the surplus wheat.[32]

One very noticeable feature of the city's structure and topography must have been the proliferation there of houses and retreats, variously called *ribāṭ, dār, zāwiya, khānqāh,* etc., where resided the fighters for the faith based on Tarsus, and there is much information in Ṭarsūsī on these.[33] One of his informants, a certain Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Miḥāl, citing one Ibn 'Aṭiyya, mentions that, in the year 290/903, the latter enumerated the city's streets and alleys *(sikak)* at 2,000 and its houses at 34,000. Of these last, it was estimated that two-thirds of them were for the *'uzzāb* (see above) coming from all over the Islamic world (the people of Qum in Persia being specifically mentioned) and the remaining one-third for the city's permanent population, these latter houses being either privately owned or endowed as *waqf* for charitable purposes.[34]

Concerning the "houses" *(dūr),* in effect *ribāṭs,* of the city, Ṭarsūsī mentions several of their names. Thus Rāghib, *mawlā* of the Regent al-Muwaffaq in the second half of the third/ninth century, had a small *dār* in the Street of the Barmakīs towards the western side [of the city], which housed his freedmen and freedwomen and their children, the household being presided over by Bushrā al-Rāghibī and then by his son Aḥmad. He had also a larger one accomodating eunuchs and senior (superannuated?) commanders of the cavalry, such as Abū Hilāl al-Rāghibī, whom Ṭarsūsī had known personally when Abū Hilāl was almost a centenarian.[35] The *dār* of Ibn al-Qaḥṭabī was situated on the banks of the Baradān River in the Street of the River, and amongst the Ṣufīs and ascetics within it was a member of the Qaḥṭaba family (i.e. the descendants of the

32. Ṭarsūsī, 450.

33. It is unfortunate that there exists no detailed study of the *ribāṭ* and its synonyms as found across the whole Islamic world; the *EI*[1] art. "Ribāṭ" (G. Marçais) deals only with the institution in the Muslim West, but see also *EI*[2] art. "Khānḳāh" (J. Chabbi).

34. Ṭarsūsī, 452.

35. *Ibid.,* 40-1.

early 'Abbāsid general al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā'ī, d. 181/797, who had marched with an army to Tarsus in al-Mahdī's reign and had restored the then ruinous state of the city, settling there troops from the various towns of Khurāsān, Khwārazm and Transoxania[36]), Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qaḥṭabī.[37] The biggest *dār* of all in Tarsus, and indeed in the whole of the *thughūr,* according to Ṭarsūsī, was that founded by Sayyida, the mother of the caliph al-Muqtadir (sc. the slave concubine and *umm walad* Shaghib) at the end of the Street of the Carpenters. It housed 150 bold slave warriors *(ghilmān);* it had attached to it blacksmiths and armourers for the repair of their weapons and equipment; and it was financed by *awqāf* in the frontier region and further back in the neighbourhood of Antioch and Aleppo.[38] Shaghib had in fact merely emulated a forerunner of hers as caliphal consort, Qabīḥa, the slave concubine of al-Mutawakkil and mother of al-Mu'tazz, who had founded a *dār* in the Street of the Bāb al-Ṣafṣāf, also accommodating 150 ghulāms with a leader *(ra'īs)* who was appointed from amongst the *mawālī* of al-Mu'tazz or, in default of such a person being available, one of the commanders of Tarsus; it contained a well-stocked armoury of weapons, protective mail for cavalrymen and their horses, and richly-decorated arms which were used on festivals or when diplomatic envoys from Byzantium arrived and needed to be impressed.[39] Ṭarsūsī himself had seen there the leader of the *dār* Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Sulaymān al-Sharābī and also succeeding commanders. The *dār* in the road known as that of Zuhayr b. al-Ḥārith comprised rooms on the upper level but stables, shops and storerooms on the lower one, the shops being a *waqf* whose revenues supported seven war horses stabled in this *dār,* including their saddlery and equipment, their shoes, their fodder and the wages for horse doctors and grooms; these top quality mounts were réserved for the leading commanders of Tarsus when there was a call to arms or when an expedition was being prepared.[40]

The procedure for summoning the warriors of Tarsus to arms *(nafīr, instinfār)* is described a length by Ṭarsūsī, and is interesting enough to be given here verbatim:

> I (sc. Ibn al-'Adīm) have read, in the actual writing of Abū 'Amr the Qāḍī, in his book (as follows): He said: The person who is in charge

36. *Ibid.,* 453-3. On al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, see Patricia Crone, *Slaves on horses, the evolution of the Islamic polity,* Cambridge 1980, 188.

37. Ṭarsūsī, 42.

38. *Ibid.,* 451.

39. *Ibid.,* 451-2.

40. *Ibid.,* 452.

of the functions of *ḥisba (al-mutawallī li-'amal al-ḥisba),* at whatever time the summonse to arms may occur, whether at night or in the day-time, rides forth with his foot soldiers before him. They shout in unison, at the tops of their voices, "To arms, O cavalrymen and infantrymen, to arms – may God provide you with the due stimulus – at the Bāb al-Jihād!" And if he wishes them to rally at the Bāb Qalamiyya, at the Bāb al-Ṣāff (read: Bāb al-Ṣafṣāf?) or at any other gate there may be, [he makes the appropriate cry]. He locks the rest of the gates of the inner city *(madīna)* and their keys are left with the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa.* The gates remain locked until the representative of the ruler *(al-sulṭān)* returns from the summonse to arms and takes up his residence again in his palace. All the locked gates are then opened, and the *muḥtasib* and his staff of foot soldiers go round all the main streets and highways. If all that takes place in the daytime, a considerable number of boys *(ṣibyān)* are added to the *muḥtasib*'s staff of foot soldiers, and these boys assist the latter in proclaiming the call to arms. Sometimes a general muster *(ḥashad)* of the populace has to be resorted to when matters become serious and the situation difficult. In that case, the *muḥtasib* orders all the market traders to come to arms and urges them to go forth behind the amīr, whatever way he takes and however he travels. The place where the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* stations himself, when the summonse to arms is given, with his staff of footsoldiers specially designated for this duty, will be at the first gate which is adjacent to the *madīna* and through which the troops are going forth for the summonse. The *muḥtasib* acts similarly, except that he goes to and fro through the markets when the procedure of the summons to arms becomes protracted and the news about it has been delayed, and he urges people to join up with those who have sallied forth with the Amīr and with those who have [already] responded to the call to arms. This state of affairs lasts until the representative of the ruler gets back to the government headquarters *(dār al-imāra).*

The well-known commanders of the infantrymen go forth to the summonse to arms when the representative of the ruler invests one of the commanders of the cavalrymen with the banner of command and then sends him out to meet those who have come to him from that quarter, having associated with him one of the commanders of the infantrymen. He has further added to the latter's forces stout-hearted infantrymen, strong, active and firm-minded volunteers from those who frequent the mosques *(al-muṭṭawwi'a al-masjidiyya),* until when they encamp at the first halting place, a shaykh, or indeed a group of shaykhs, from amongst those famed for their piety and who are well-known for their continence in this respect regarding youths *(ghilmān)* who are the object of lengthy glances on account of their comeliness and dazzling beauty, devotes himself exclusively [to these youthful troops], and then group by group they become attached to that person whom they know and in whom they put their trust, and under whose flag and banner they have placed themselves. If any one of them should wish to perform the minor ablutions *(al-wuḍū')* in preparation for the worship, he would not leave him except in the company of a faithful and trusty guardian, a well-reputed shaykh, who will go with him in order to fulfill his need, until when he has accomplished it, he returns to the main body.

We have seen personally, in the last days of Tarsus (i.e before its capture by the Byzantines), a man called Ru'ba, around whom there used to gather groups of boys *(ṣibyān)* who had not yet reached the age of maturity and adulthood *(al-ḥilm),* totalling over 1,000 boys. Each one of them bore arms appropriate to his size and carried provision bags, in which had been got ready various kinds of foodstuffs appropriate for them. The whole of them would go around under a lance *(miṭrad)* carried by Ru'ba; they would travel forward when he travelled forward and would halt when he halted. That used to be their procedure until, when the representative of the ruler returned to his headquarters *(maqarr dārihi),* having arrived back from the summonse to arms which he had been leading, those lads went in before him, arranged according to their status and functions, with their commander drawing them up in ranks, each in the finest possible manner. [These included] those of them who were archers armed with crossbows which had been constructed according to their statures and strengths, and then those of them who were armed with Persian bows; and often *(rubbamā)* there were in their ranks lads of Yemeni descent who carried Arabian bows together with their arrows.[41] They would enter detachment by detachment, group of boys by group of boys. Then those who were good at handling the sword would indulge in sword-play with his companions and comrades and

41. The distinction here amongst these longbows mentioned was presumably that between the simple, Bedouin bow or that of the Arabs laminated with two or three component substances, and the more complex, composite bow of the Persians (and also Turks). See J.D. Latham and W.F. Paterson, *Saracen archery, an English version and exposition of a Mameluke work on archery* (ca. *A.D. 1368),* London 1970, 6-19, and *EI*² art, "Ḳaws" (A. Boudot-Lamotte).

peers, until each specialised group of them would get into his appropriate functional group and status. Then there would follow them their commander Ru'ba with his lance and banner. When [eventually] one of these lads emerged from his childhood, his upper arm grew strong, and he approached the onset of puberty or actually reached puberty or passed a little way beyond it, he was attached to one of the commanders of the infantrymen whom I have mentioned, accompanied him when he was summoned to arms or went on a raiding expedition, and decided for himself to go with him in accordance with his own choice of companion and comrade and associate. When finally his beard grew and he left behind the stage of downy cheeks and chin, he joined the ranks of the mass of troops, fully competent in all that he needed to know, skilful, perspicacious in all matters relating to his dedication to *jihād* and management of his own affairs, effective [in battle] and alert, if God wills.[42]

The strong defences of Tarsus and the bellicosity of its garrisons, backed by the efforts in the middle years of the fourth/tenth century of the Ḥamdānid amīr of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla, could not, however, save the city from the relentless pressure of the resurgent Byzantines under the leadership of generals of genius like Nicephorus Phocas and his successor on the imperial throne after 969, John Tzimisces. The embattled inhabitants of Tarsus endeavoured to secure help, and Ṭarsūsī has a passage on the cries for help *(istiṣrākh)* directed at the Muslim powers. A delegation was sent to the Egypt of Kāfūr (who was, however, at this point near the end of his life) under the *khaṭīb* Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Fayyāḍ; and the Qur'ān-reciter Abū Bakr al-Iskāf and another scholar, Abū 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī,[43] the deputy of the qāḍī al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad al-Khawātīmī, were despatched to Baghdad and the court of the fainéant caliph al-Muṭī'. No relief came, and the last Friday worship was performed on 10 Sha'bān 354/10 August 965, with a farewell peroration from Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Khawwāṣ:

O people of Tarsus, I am speaking to you, so listen!
This [is] the place where the exalted Book of God used to be recited;

42. *Ibid.*, 453-4.
43. These last two names thus correctly in Ṭarsūsī, 47.

This [is] the place from which the expeditions into Byzantium were launched;
This [is] the place where the whole affairs of the frontier fortresses had their origin;
This [is] the place where the Friday congregational worship and the great festivals were celebrated;
This [is] the place where those whose prayers [for help] had not been answered used to congregate;
This [is] the place to which those of restrained and upright life used to flock;
This [is] the place to which those making their way to God used to come in bodies;
This [is] the place where devotees and ascetics used to resort for pious exercises,

(and so on, with similar expressions in this vein).[44]
Five days later, Nicephorus entered the city.[45]

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44. *Ibid.*, 47, 454-6.
45. See above, n. 2.

The Ethiopian Threat as recorded in Priscus' Fragment Nr. 6

The history of the Later Roman Empire is a rather popular period among the historians, treated either as the decline of the glorious Roman epoch or as a transitional period to the Byzantine Empire of the New Rome[1]. Numerous literary sources and archaeological findings constitute a solid basis for our knowledge of this time. In this short contribution I am going to deal with a marginal question, related to the Roman historian Priscus and a fragment of his work providing information about *"the Ethiopian tribes that were at the process of uniting",* as R. Blockley translates the relevant notice[2]. To reach any conclusions one has to deal first with the historical validity of Priscus, then with the historical reality of the period he describes and finally with the scrutiny of the term "Ethiops". I hope that my article will contribute to a better understanding of the nature of the tribes vaguely named "Αἰθίοπες" in the Byzantine sources.

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1. For the European historians of the Middle Ages the problem was focused in the relation of the modern western civilization with the Roman Empire and the scientific research is dealing with it since the times of Montesquieu and Gibbon. For the Byzantine civilization its relationship with the classical Antiquity is equally important. Only as representative selection of titles that could provide further advice for a special approach see O. SEECK, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt,* vol. I-VI, Stuttgart 1895-1921 (repr. Stuttgart 1966: 1922/23); A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602,* vol. I-III, Oxford 1964; ID., *The Decline of the Ancient World,* London 1966; and the most recent global and thorough presentation A. DEMANDT, *Die Spätantike (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* III 6), München 1989. Various aspects, especially those concerning social and political changes related with this transitional period are investigated in the volume: *Frome Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium. Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference,* ed. V. VAVRINEK, Praha 1985.

2. R.C. BLOCKLEY, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus (ARCA: Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs* 6, 10), vol. I-II, Trowbridge 1981, 1983. II, 243.

The work of Priscus is actually the *"major authority for the history of the middle decades of the fifth century"*[3] and the description of his work in the Suda as a *"History of Byzantium and events of the period of Attila"*[4] properly indicates its contents. Actually the fact that the historian served as a delegate to Attila, sent by Theodosius II, enhances his veracity as the most reliable source about the relations between the Romans and Attila[5].

The career of Priscus, related to that of the military official Maximinus[6], brought him to the Egyptian frontier at Thebaid and his fragments are the main source providing records about the negotiations with the Nobadae and the Blemmyes soon after 453[7]. These events have been profoundly

3. BLOCKLEY, *op. cit.,* I, 49. Cf. the evaluation of E. THOMPSON, *History of Attila and the Huns,* Oxford 1948, 12, 194; notwithstanding his opinion B. BALDWIN, in his overall presentation of the historian's life, "Priscus of Panium", *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 18-61, especially 18, argues that "Priscus remains the major source for some of the most momentous events of the *fifth century*". The essential bibliography about the historian in G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica,* Berlin, 1958, I, 479-88; for later references, especially on details of his work, BALDWIN, *ibid.,* passim; BLOCKLEY, *ibid., 48-70.*

4. *Ἱστορίαν βυζαντιακὴν καὶ κατὰ Ἀττήλαν,* ed. A. ADLER, P 2301; cf. P 202 (Panium). As far as the problem is concerned whether two works of the historian existed see BALDWIN's remarks, *op. cit.,* 25 ff. in the framework of a careful investigation of all the relevant information; cf. BLOCKLEY, *op. cit.,* 49f. The majority of the authors suggest that only a work was published, the most famous part of which were the narratives about Attila. The point is supported by *Evagrius'* notice, Hist. Eccl. 1.17.

5. The floruit of the historians' life is assigned to the reign of Theodosius II by *Suda,* loc. cit.

6. The historian appears together with the general in the troubles with the Saracens in the early years of Marcian's reign (fr. 20); in the thebaic frontier Maximinus was negotiating with the Blemmyes and Nobadae, threatening the Upper Egypt with their incursions (fr. 21). Priscus was again with him. The only special article on the career of the field officer and its connection with the historian W. ENSSLIN, "Maximinus und sein Begleiter, der Historiker Priscus", *Byzantinisch- neugriechische Jahrbücher* 5 (1926-27), 1-9; on the events and their chronology cf. BALDWIN, *op. cit.,* to the point 24f.; a survey of the sources on Maximinus political and military activities in J.R. MARTINDALE, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* vol. II, Cambridge 1980 (hence PRLE II), Maximinus 11, (?) comes rei militaris (East) 453, 753; on the negotiations with the Nubian tribes L. TÖRÖK, "A Contribution to Post-Meroitic chronology. The Blemmyes in Lower Nubia", *Meroitic Newsletter* 24 (March 1985), 42-46; ID., *Late Antique Nubia. History and Archaeology of the Southern Neighbour of Egypt in the 4th-6th c. A.D. (Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* 16:1987), 53ff., 255 (notes), cf. my remarks, Βυζάντιο και Ερυθρά Θάλασσα (Ph.D.: Ιστορικές Μονογραφίες 5), Athens 1988, 213-216, with notices on further secondary bibliography.

7. Maximinus' presence and activities in the East and its involvement in the operations against the Saracens is dated in 453. Cf. *Jordanes,* Romana, 333; the engagement in the Thebaic frontier could possibly be assigned to the end of the same year. See TÖRÖK, *Post-Meroitic Chronology,* loc. cit. and ID., *Late Antike Nubia,* loc. cit.; cf. my remarks, ibid.

examined by specialists and the details, that are of paramount importance as far as the social conditions of the Nubian tribes and their relations with the Roman Empire are concerned, have been sufficiently scrutinized and elucidated[8].

Actually my study is mainly concerned with a reference of Priscus which is casually inserted in an entirely different context. His Fragment refers to events dated to 447 and the historian is dealing with Attila's mindful tactics in communicating with the Romans. The narration outlines the overall threats facing Byzantium at this time in its foreign relations. Within this frame, Priscus indicates the reasons that caused the Byzantines' reluctancy to reject Attila's demands, i.e. numerous threats from different barbarians. The situation encouraged Attila to send frequently envoys to the Byzantines demanding the return of fugitives. These embassies were only a method to satisfy some of his retinue, who could be benefited by the Roman liberality, received generously as envoys of the Barbarian[9]. The Romans were forced to follow this

8. In addition to bibliography given in n. 6, a presentation of the fragment concerning the negotiations with the Blemmyes and Nobadae with an english translation and commentary is provided by T. EIDE, T. HÄGG and R.H. PIERCE, "Greek, Latin and Coptic Sources concerning Nubian History: Three Greek Texts", *Sudan Texts Bulletin* 1 (1979), 4-12, Nr. 3, 9ff. An English translation with short remarks offers BLOCKLEY as well, op. cit., II, 323ff. The invasion of the Nubian tribes in Upper Egypt, their defeat and the negotiations with Maximinus are usually envisaged as integral part of the process of the proliferation of the Christianity in the region. This development was a challange for the Blemmyes and the Nobadae and forced them to act in alliance against the Romans. Cf. F.M. SNOWDEN, *Blacks in Antiquity,* Cambridge-Mass.-London 1970, 138f.

9. Fr. 6. The fragments of Priscus' work in the ed. of C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum, vol. I-IV, Paris 1885 (hence FHG IV), Priscus in vol. IV numbered 1-43; cf. L. DINDORF, Historici graeci minores,* Leipzig 1870; C. DE BOOR, *Excerpta de legationibus,* vol. I, Berlin 1903; for easy reference it must be noticed that here is used the text of MÜLLER and the english translation of BLOCKLEY, *op. cit.,* II, 222ff. Nr. 6:240-243. BLOCKLEY provides in his edition a useful table with the correlation of fragments presented in his edition and the older ones. An older english translation that does not seriously vary from BLOCKLEY's one has been elaborated by C.D. GORDON, *The Age of Attila,* Ann Arbor 1966, 68. B. CROKE, "The Context and Date of Priscus Fragment 6", *Classical Philology* 78 (1983), 197-308 as well as W. BAYLLES, "The chronology of Priscus Fragment 6", *ibid.,* 74 (1979), 154f. have elaborated upon the various problems related with this specific fragment. A short and general reference is made by E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire,* vol. I-II, Paris-Brügge 1959 (repr. Amsterdam 1968). The German edition of the work is refered to in this relation, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches,* vol. I: *Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate (184-476 n. Chr.),* Wien 1928, 436ff. STEIN evaluating the Byzantine policy towards Attila on the basis of Priscus' fr. 6 stresses that this information provides the inpression of an "ängstlichen Friedenspolitik des Hofes von Konstantinopel", ibid., 438. JONES in his handbook discusses in general terms the Roman policy towards the Huns and bases his comments especially on the fragments Nr. 7 and 8 of Priscus' work;

diplomatic play, not only worried of a possible war with Attila, as Priscus states, but "afraid also of the Parthians who were preparing for hostilities, the Vandals who were harrying the coastal regions, the Isaurians whose banditry was reviving, the Saracens who were ravaging the eastern parts of their dominions, and the Ethiopian tribes that were in the process of uniting"[10]. The historian concludes that at this stage it was preferable for the Romans to pay court to Attila and concentrate their forces against the other peoples.

For a global estimation of the historical background it seems worth while to glimpse through the other elements included in Priscus' account before focusing our attention on the examination of his information concerning the Ethiopians. To review the external threats for this time real or even potential as recorded in Priscus fragment, it should be recalled that hostilities with the Huns began after the Byzantine expedition to Sicily in 441 and they resulted to an extended devastation of Illyricum[11]. After these incursions peace is attested in the Balkan until 447, the year that marks a new period of troubles. The earthquake of 26 January 447 gave for the enemies the possibility to penetrate the Chersonese and launch a new invasion that destroyed the provinces of Thrace[12].

After the capture of Carthage, the Vandals were since 439 a dangerous menace for the Western Empire and a threat of coordinated

he is interested mainly on the "demands for the return of rebellius Hunnic subjects", op. cit., I, 193f., III, 37 (notes). The latter topic is dominating in the fragments 5-8. Cf. the general discussion of G. WIRTH, who investigates the problem in the framework of Attila's personality and policy, "Attila und Byzanz. Zur Deutung einer fragwürdigen Priscusstelle", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 60 (1967), 41-69, passim. DEMANDT's commends will be discussed in the conclusions of this paper.

10. The Greek text of the citation: "...ἀλλὰ καὶ Παρθυαίους ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνοντας ἐδεδίεσαν καὶ Βανδίλους τὰ κατὰ θάλασσαν ταράττοντας καὶ Ἰσαύρους πρὸς τὴν ληστείαν διανισταμένους καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπικρατείας τὴν ἕω κατατρέχοντας καὶ τὰ αἰθιοπικὰ ἔθνη συνιστάμενα". MÜLLER, *FHG* IV, 76.; the translation by BLOCKLEY, op. cit., II, 243.

11. About this expedition under the leadership of magister militum Ariobindus see the survey of the relevant sources in *PLRE* II, Fl. Ariobindus 2, 145; on the events C. COURTOIS, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Paris 1955, 155ff., 185ff.; L. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Wandalen*, München 1942² (repr. München 1970), 76; O.J. MAENCHEN-HELFEN, *The World of the Huns*, Berkeley 1973, 108; cf. THOMPSON, op. cit., 81ff.; WIRTH, op. cit., 50.

12. A damage of the Anastasian long wall in Thrace has been caused by this earthquake and the consequent Hunnish invasion has been facilitated by the catastrophe. On the events cf. B. CROKE, "The Date of the 'Anastasian Long Wall' in Thrace" *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 23 (1982), 59-78, to the point, 62; ID., "Anatolius and Nomus: Envoys to Attila", *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981), 159-170, to the point, 164ff.

Hunnish and Vandal attacks was contested by the Romans through dimplomatic efforts[13]. In the same context the narration mentions a Parthian threat, as a further motive for the Roman unwillingness to reject Attila's demands. It is not quite clear if the historian refers directly to preparations for a Roman-Persian battle[14] and in so far this notice could not be decisive for the fixing of a precise date, with respect to the Byzantine Persian wars of the 440s. The Saracens, adds Priscus, were overrunning the eastern part of the empire during the time in question. The years between 447 and 450 the Saracen raids in Palestine called for Roman military intervention; the campaigns of Dorotheus and Ardaburius are recorded in our sources[15] and the diplomatic efforts of Maximinus in the region are reported by Priscus himself, who attended the mission[16]. Isauria was notoriously an uneasy region for the Roman power[17]. However no evidence for troubles is documented for this period of time and the assumption of a revolt to be prepared by the end of the 440s by Zeno in the region remains only an attractive conjecture[18].

There is a striking similarity between the situation described in Priscus Fragment and that described by Marcellinus in his narration assigned to 441[19] and it was one of the arguments put forward by Baylles in order to support his proposal for dating the fragment in 441[20]. However it is not my intention to take up again the problem of chronology and it seems

13. A general presentation of the Vandal attacks in the different parts of the Western Empire during this time in COURTOIS, loc. cit.; the assumption of a possible Vandal and Hunnish cooperation is discussed by CROKE, *Anatolius and Nomus*, op. cit., 159; a general apraisal of the Byzantine foreign policy of this time in E.A. THOMPSON, "The Foreign policies of Theodosius II and Marcian", *Hermathena* 76 (1950), 58-75, to the point, 61-63.

14. CROKE, *The Context and Date*, op. cit., 306f. suggests that it could be only a general remark concerning the Persian hostilities with different people during this time. The Persian oppression over the Christian Armenians was at the late 440s very strong and their request for byzantine support was addressed to Theodosius II. Cf. ibid., with specific reference to bibliography dealing with the Armenian sources; further cf. WIRTH, op. cit., passim.

15. Cf. the relevant articles in *PLRE* II, 135ff., 377ff. with complete references to the sources' information.

16. Fr. 20; see references above, n. 7. An actual and global presentation of the events exploiting all relevant sources and the secondary bibliography on the matter by I. SHAHID, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington D.C. 1989, 37ff.

17. E. THOMPSON, "The Isaurians under Theodosius II", *Hermathena*, 68 (1946), 61.

18. Cf. *PLRE* II, Zeno 6, 1199f.; on the issue CROKE, *The Context and Date*, op. cit., 306.

19. *Chron. min.*, ed. TH. MOMMSEN, 2:80: "Persae, Saraceni, Tzanni, Isauri, Hunni finibus suis egressi Romanorum sola vastaverunt. missi sunt contra eos Anatolius et Aspar magistri militiae pacemque cum his unius anni fecerunt".

20. Chronology, op. cit.; cf. ID., "The Treaty with the Huns of 443". *American Journal of Philology* 97 (1976), 176-180.

rather convincing to start from the dating in 447, established by Croke and adopted by Blockley in his Priscus' edition[21]. Needless to say that this dating proposal has been founded on an exhaustive examination, respecting the historical background as revealed in the information transmitted by the historian; Croke provides as well sound arguments about the coherence and the internal logic of Priscus' history as a whole. It is even in this respect a succesful presentation, although the work is available in a fragmentary tradition. At least for the fragments 5, 6 and 7 B. Croke has proved the chronological and logical consistencey of the narration.

Turning now to the scope of this paper, we should emphasize the short notice at the end of Priscus' description, that deals with the critical situation facing the Roman foreign policy at that period. The last danger the historian reports in his enumeration refers to the unification of the Ethiopian races. The narration as a whole is affected by elements of imprecision; especially concerning the terminology it would be hopeless, if we tried to derive from the terms applied in the fragment precise correspondence with modern sociological or ethnological terms[22]. Even if we could not undertake an investigation on which Ethiopian tribes might be those referred to in the narration, there is no doubt that at first glimpse Priscus seems to include the Ethiopians along with the other enemies threatening the Romans. All these together made the Roman policy vulnerable and submissive to Attila's frequent embassies.

B. Croke in his article dealing with the fragment draws attention to all factors included by Priscus in his summary presentation of the foreign relations of the Roman Empire in the late 440s and argues that an Ethiopian threat must be accepted as emerging of this information[23]. His position and arguments must be scrutinized in detail in the following part of the present article in order to arrive at a conclusion regarding the Ethiopians and their relations with the Roman empire during the time in question. The most essential arguments the author puts forward to support his position are the following. The administrative measures of the emperor Theodosius, who divided the province Thebais into an

21. *The Context and Date,* op. cit., passim; BLOCKLEY, op. cit., II, 382.

22. GORDON translates "Ethiopian races", loc. cit.; the same wording is introduced by CROKE, *The Context and Date,* 303. BLOCKLEY, op. cit., II, 243 is using the language "Ethiopian tribes". In the following we will discuss the confusion concerning the geographical and ethnological concepts of the historiography of this time about the region.

23. *The Context and Date,* op. cit., 304f. and passim. His conclusion as presented ibid., 305, reads: *"...we have good reason to suppose that the restless tribes of Upper Egypt and Ethiopia were a threat to the Roman administration at precisely this time".*

upper and a lower part were a reaction to the frontier problems and the incursions by the Blemmyes and the Nobadae[24]. He continues arguing that the Ethiopians were frequently involved with the Nobadae and Blemmyes and although – he admits – our knowledge about the Ethiopian history of the time is not very well documented, we can generally speak of the turbulances in the frontier region that were due to commercial interests and religious discrepancies. He adds the later Ethiopian-Himyarite controversies and the Byzantine intervention and comes to a similar conclusion, that previous tensions in the region could be imagined as a potential threat for the imperial frontier[25]. Croke indicates further that a *"trade irregularity"* or a *"controversial religious policy"* in the region could have provoked a dissent in Ethiopia and the notice of Priscus should be the sound of this situation. To strengthen his position he stresses that Himyarite raids in Roman territory could be presumed in the light of various documents that contribute to the history of the region in 450[26].

24. Ibid. The argument itself is correct and the information of the literary sources confirms this fact for the years around 450. The relevant information from Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.7 and the role of the dux Florus in the troublesome region have been discussed. Cf. my remarks, op. cit., 213f.; on the dux Thebaidis Florus see the collected information of the sources in *PLRE* II, 743; on the division of the province Thebais see J. LALLEMAND, "La création des provinces d'Egypte Jovia et d'Egypte Herculia", *Bull. de la cl. des lettres, Accad. Roy. de Belgique,* sér. V, 36 (1950), 388, footnote 1 as well as my remarks with further references, ibid., 133.

25. I quote here some significant points from his further discussion: "Adjacent to the Nobadae and Blemmyes, and frequently involved with them, lay the Kingdom of the Ethiopians, or Axumites, in a remote but commercially strategic corner of the classical world. Our fragmentary sources for the fifth century leave us in abysmal ignorance about events in Ethiopia... It is not difficult to envision the mid-fifth century (447/448) forerunners of these generations (sc. Justin I and Justinian I, the Ethiopians and their Himyarite counterparts in the struggles of the 6th century) displaying similar behavior and thereby threatening the imperial government", CROKE, loc. cit.

26. In this context he argues on the basis of a rather inconsistent spectrum of sources, that are very difficult to bring together in a fixed and unchallenged historical and chronological background. He brings for instance together information from Ezana's inscriptions and the letter of the Blemmyan king Phoenin and links all these with the Ethiopians. As introduction to the very complicated problems related to the interpretation and the dating of these sources see V. CHRISTIDES, "Ethnic Movements in Southern Egypt and Northern Soudan. Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.", *Listy Filologicke* 103 (1980), 129-143, passim; to the point cf. my remarks, op. cit., 190-227; and the bibliography noticed by CROKE, ibid., 305, n. 42. A global presentation of the Ethiopian history of this time by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien, Christliches Reich zweischen Gestern und Morgen,* Wiesbaden, 1967; cf. Y.M. KUBISHCHANOV, *Axum* (Trans. by T. Kapitanoff), Pennsylvania State University 1979; O. NEUGEBAUER, *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources (Öster. Ak. Wiss., Sitzungsber.* 512). Wien 1989.

W. Baylles, who treated the chronology of Priscus Fragment 6 in a short article, estimates this information of the historian as the proof of a rather unimportant disorder in the Sudan of which no other sources provide account[27].

The fragmentary character of the existing Priscus' work is well known and the difficulties arising of this fact are evident. Our information and knowledge depend on the tradition established by the tenth century Byzantine compilation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and it goes without saying that the fragments taken in this collection were only those fitting with the purpose of the collecting exercise. The Emperor compilled a *Historical Digest* picking up parts from works of various historians in order to produce a sounding work corresponding to the name he has choosen to put as a topic in front of his collection: *Embassies of the Romans to the Foreign Peoples and Embassies of the Foreign Peoples to the Romans*[28].

To judge Priscus' information about a possible Ethiopian threat for the Roman Empire in the late 440s we must take into account the following additional considerations. Priscus' geographical data have been criticised as more or less inadequate[29] allthough Baldwin in his excellent article that provides an accurate portrait of the historian and his work makes a genuine effort to rehabilitate Priscus' reputation on this point[30]. The author thoroughly discusses the employment of tribal and geographical names in Priscus' work, especially with regard to affection by classicism that dominates the late antique historiography. It is in line with this classicing tradition that strong affection of rhetorical elements is

27. *The Chronology*, op. cit., 155: "The disturbance in the Sudan was evidently not serious enough to have left its mark in any extant sources than Priscus".

28. In addition to information about Priscus' work included in works already mentioned, for instance BALDWIN, op. cit.; BLOCKLEY, op. cit.; cf. P.A. BRUNT, "On historical fragments and Epitomes", *The Classical Quarterly* N.S. 30 (1980), 477-492 especially, 483ff. on the compilatory work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; H. HUNGER, discusses in a global presentation the methodology and content of the works selected by the Emperor and their value as historical sources, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII 5. 1, 2), München 1978, vol. I-II, I, 36ff.; as well as P. LEMERLE, in the context of an overall evaluation of Porphyrogenitus' literary activities and in the light of their cultural environment, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle,* Paris 1971 (Greek trans. by M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, Athens 1981, 254-264 and especially 259ff.).

29. THOMPSON, op. cit., 12; GORDON, op. cit., 194.

30. Cf. op. cit., 49ff. *"This is unfair. The historian hardly ever names a city or fortress without at least a brief note on its whereabouts".*

attested in Priscus' language[31]. Nevertheless Priscus' notice on the Ethiopian threat of fragment 6 is not commended by Baldwin in this context.

Despite the fragmentary tradition of Priscus' work, it must be stressed that this is the only reference made to Ethiopians in the existing parts. This must be considered taking into account following facts that influence our knowledge about Ethiopia and Ethiopians of this time. The geographical conception about the region boardering the Roman Egypt is in the sources of this time rather confused and the descriptions are more or less copying each other thus proliferating the dark picture[32]. The tribal composition of the region is equally unprecisely described and especially the name of the Ethiopians is not consistently used in the sources[33]. Certainly we cannot ignore that Priscus has been in direct contact with the Nubian tribes and his narration about the negotiations of Maximus in a later time is a very reliable account[34]. In fact, in this later situation the Ethiopians are not introduced in the hostilities and the peace negotiations that resulted. Croke's notice that the Blemmyes and Nobadae were usually involved with the Ethiopians reflects more or less the confused situation of our information[35]. However it is a rather very weak founded position to assume a threat against Roman territory in this time arising from a common action of these well known Sudanese tribes and the Ethiopians. This must be regarded in relation with the lack of documentation about the Ethiopian history, generally speaking for the years between 375 and 525[36].

In the light of these arguments, I would like to plead for an inaccurate insertion of the Ethiopians in an account that for Priscus was intending to

31. Cf. ibid., 32 and n. 54, referring to fr. 6.

32. Cf. among others J. DESANGES, "Une mention altérée d'Axoum dans l'Expositio totius mundi et gentium", *Annales d'Ethiopie* 7 (1967), 141-155, passim; A. DIHLE, "Die entdeckungsgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 8 (1977), 546-580, passim; L.P. KIRWAN, "The Christian Topography and the Kingdom of Axum", *The Geographical Journal* 138 (1972), 166-177, passim as well as my remarks, "Die hymiaritisch-äthiopische Kriege des 6. Jh.s und die Christianisierung Äthiopiens", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 41 (1991), 25-41, passim.

33. On the name of the Ethiopians cf. A. DIHLE, "Umstrittene Daten. Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Rotem Meer" *(Wiss. Abh. d. Arbeitsg. f. Forschung d. Landes Nordrhein/Westfalen* 32), Köln-Opladen 1965, 67ff.; cf. R. VOIGT, *Graeco-Arabica* 4 (1991), 268, with additional bibliography.

34. Fr. 21, cf. above, footenote 6.

35. Above, footenote 25.

36. This is admitted by Croke himself, ibid.

document the picture of an "exhausted and bankrupt Roman state" as Croke aptly illuminates the impression deducted from fragment 6[37]. Especially this intention could be the reason for an exaggeration or a confusion; this is not far from the general rhetorical use or abuse of language attested in the narration that could finally affect the accuracy of the account. This fragment and the political message it might indirectly convey is an indication about Priscus' position towards Theodosius' regime[38]. Political propaganda is likely to be a further component for an exaggerated presentation. Even if it cannot be regarded as decisive, it is however significant that in a contemporary account the Blemmyes and Nobadae are classified by Jordanes as Ethiopians[39].

The discussion of fragment 6 can be completed with the remark that in 447 the Blemmyes and Nobadae could present a potential threat for the Roman frontier in Upper Egypt. This happened in fact in the next years and Priscus witnesses on the events in the relevant fragments of his work[40]. For an Ethiopian threat in connection with these situations and in the time in question sufficient evidence is lacking[41]. Thus most probably Priscus' information on the threat of the Ethiopian refers to a temporary alliance between the Beja-Blemmyes and the Nobadae against Byzantine Egypt. It should be emphasized that the relations between Ethiopia and Nubia at that time and even in the following centuries were constantly hostile and therefore there was not any chance of any alliance of them[42]. The key to the understanding of Priscus' statement lies obviously in the proper use of the term "Ethiopes" which definitely refers to the Sudanese tribes and not to the inhabitants of Ethiopia.

DIMITRIOS LETSIOS

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37. *The Context and Date,* op. cit., 301; cf. STEIN, loc. cit., above, footnote 9, as well as THOMPSON, op. cit., footnote 13, passim.

38. Cf. BALDWIN, op. cit., 32; cf. THOMPSON, ibid., passim.

39. *Jordanes, Romana* 333.

40. In addition to information about the threat of the Nubian tribes recorded by Priscus himself evidence on the situation of the Nubian-Egyptian relations around 450 is for instance provided by the letter of Appion. On the document and its evaluation cf. TÖRÖK, *Late Antike Nubia,* op. cit., 51f. as well as my remarks, op. cit., above, footnote 6.

41. The same conclusion is reached by DEMANDT, op. cit., 184, n. 9, in a short notice devoted to fragment 6. He bases his argument specifically on Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* I 7 and *Jordanes,* loc. cit., n. 39 *"...diese unscharfe Ortsangabe* (sc. in Evagrius' and Jordanes' narration) *dürfte hinter der Nennung Äthiopiens bei Priscus fr. 6 stehen. Es erübrigt sich daher, mit Croke (1983, 305) weitere Aktivitäten aus Äthiopien anzunehmen".*

42. See the article "Nūba" to appear in EI^{2} which Prof. V. Christides was kind enough to show me.

Guerre et traite comme sources de l'esclavage dans l'empire byzantin aux IXème et Xème siècles

On sait que sous la dynastie macédonienne la réduction en esclavage des prisonniers faisait partie de la conduite normale de la guerre. D'ailleurs, il en était de même dans tous les conflits armés à cette époque tant dans le monde chrétien que dans celui de l'Islam. La notion de "societas christiana" ou de croyance commune au Prophète n'exerçait pas encore l'influence qui, plus tard, tarira peu à peu, au moins pour les corèligionnaires, la perte de la liberté pour les prisonniers comme partie intégrante de la guerre. Il n'est donc pas étonnant qu'une novelle de Jean Tzimiscès, datant probablement de 974, stipule qu'un soldat a un droit absolu sur les prisonniers qu'il fait lui-même. Il peut les garder, les donner ou les vendre. Le fisc ne lui réclame pas d'impôt. Il n'en est pas de même pour celui qui acquiert un esclave d'un militaire. Dans ce cas l'esclave est considéré comme une marchandise et le fisc perçoit le Κομμέρκιον[1]. Après les guerres beaucoup d'esclaves étaient importés des pays où avaient eu lieu les opérations. Ils passaient souvent par Abydos et déjà Nicéphore Ier, tout au début du IXème siècle, établit, ou rétablit, une taxe de deux nomismata, appelée δεκάτη, ce qui fait supposer que le prix moyen d'un esclave était alors de vingt nomismata[2].

Comme les guerres furent fréquentes sous les empereurs macédoniens, les réductions en esclavage des prisonniers furent massives. Au Xème siècle, dans la lutte contre les Arabes, les Byzantins triomphent souvent. Déjà Petronas, général de Michel III, avait pris l'initiative. Basile Ier dirige ses efforts du côté du Taurus et reprend

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1. T. Dölger. Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches (Munich, 1924 et an. suiv.) n° 745. Texte dans G. Heimbach: Ανέκδοτα, t. II (Leipzig, 1840) pp. 276-7.

2. Théophane le Confesseur: Chronographie (éd. de Boer, Leipzig, 1883), p. 756.

même Chypre. Les prisonniers se prenaient tant sur terre que sur mer, mais les pirates arabes rendaient la pareille en Crète et même à Salonique en 904. La réplique de Léon VI fut plutôt faible, mais sous Romain Ier Lécapène, le général arménien Jean Curcuas prend Mélitène en 934 et Edesse en 943. Les succès, on le voit, étaient plus grands sur terre à l'est que sur mer plus près du centre de l'empire. En 961, cependant, Nicéphore Phocas, deux ans avant son accession au trône, reconquiert la Crète et détruit la flotte arabe de la Mer Egée. En 962 il est aussi à Alep à l'est, à Antioche en 969. Sous Jean Tzimiscès l'Euphrate est dépassé en Mésopotamie, mais cet avantage ne fut pas poussé plus loin, car Basile II concentra son effort contre les Bulgares, ce qui, comme on sait, lui valut le surnom de Bulgarochtone. Cette lutte dura vingt ans et entraîna, elle aussi, de nombreuses réductions en esclavage. Les sources parlent surtout de celles-ci lorsqu'il s'agit de prisonniers musulmans. Ainsi la continuation de Théophane parle du butin énorme et de la masse des prisonniers ramenés par Léon Phocas, frère de l'empereur en 960[3]. Nicéphore lui-même réserve la fine fleur de ses prisonniers pour son triomphe après la campagne de Crète, mais le reste est accordé aux soldats[4]. Il s'agit aussi de beaucoup de femmes et d'enfants, et il est bien certain que tous n'etaient pas musulmans[5].

Il est question du sort des prisonniers de guerre dans le traité conclu en 911 entre Léon VI et le prince russe Oleg, tuteur d'Igor, second prince de Rus' et fils de Rurik[6]. Lorsqu'un prisonnier russe ou grec est vendu dans un pays étranger et qu'il y a là un marchand russe ou grec celui-ci doit racheter le prisonnier et le renvoyer dans son pays. Il est esclave de celui qui l'a racheté aussi longtemps que celui-ci n'a pas été remboursé, déduction faite du travail effectué pour le racheteur[7]. Il s'agit très certainement ici de marchands byzantins ou russes, opérant en pays musulman. Mais le traité montre aussi qu'il y avait des esclaves grecs en Russie et russes dans l'Empire byzantin. Ils peuvent être rachetés moyennant 20 livres d'or d'où qu'ils viennent, ce qui prouve que l'on songe aussi bien aux victimes de la guerre ou de la piraterie que de la traite.

Dans celle-ci les Slaves faisaient alors très fréquemment figure de

3. Ed. Bekker 1838, p. 283.
4. Ibid, p. 27.
5. G. Schlumberger: Nicéphore Phocas (Paris 1923), p. 77.
6. Dölger: Regesten n° 556.
7. Cf. la version russe du traité dans la Chronique de Nestor chez G. Schlumberger: L'épopée byzantine, t. I (Paris, 1896) p. 165.

victimes dans le grand trafic international. A partir du règne de Henri l'Oiseleur la poussée allemande vers l'est entraîne beaucoup de réductions en esclavage de prisonniers slaves. Certains restent dans les territoires conquis et deviennent serfs ou demi-libres après conversion au christianisme, mais les moins chanceux entrent dans le circuit de la traite et sont vendus au loin par des marchands chrétiens ou, plus souvent, juifs. L'Inquisitio de theloneis de 903-905 mentionne ces derniers à Raffelstetten dans l'Ostmark comme marchands de mancipia[8], mais les sources arabes prouvent que ce trafic est beaucoup plus ancien.

Le Kitab al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik d'Ibn Khordadbeh du milieu du IXème siècle parle des itinéraires suivis par les marchands juifs qu'il appelle Radaniya, c'est-à-dire connaisseurs des routes, suivant l'étymologie persane du nom[9]. Ces marchands exportent par la côte méditerranéenne française "des eunuques, des femmes esclaves, des garçons, du brocard, des peaux de castor, des pelisses de martre et autres pelleteries et des épées". La variété de ces marchandises suffit déjà à montrer la diversité des itinéraires parcourus par ces marchands qui forment une sorte de chaîne d'associations régionales, puisque Ibn Khordadbeh dit qu'ils parlent l'arabe, le persan, le romain, c'est-à-dire le grec, les langues franque, espagnole et slave. Ils servent d'agents de liaison entre le monde occidental d'une part, le monde byzantin et arabe de l'autre, ce qui résulte aussi de l'énumération des endroits par où passent leurs divers itinéraires qui mènent même certains d'entre eux jusqu'en Chine. J'ai pu montrer dans une étude parue en 1983 dans les Estudios en Homenaje a Don Claudio Sanchez Albornoz, le grand médiéviste espagnol[10], que les esclaves, parmi lesquels beaucoup d'eunuques, provenaient des pays slaves et traversaient les états francs (Firandja) avant d'arriver à la côte méditerranéenne de la France actuelle. Déjà les souverains carolingiens du IXème siècle avaient réduit fréquemment des prisonniers slaves en esclavage et beaucoup de ceux-ci étaient conduits en Espagne musulmane par des marchands juifs dont certains obtenaient à cet effet un privilège spécial du souverain franc[11]. En Espagne musulmane ces esclaves étaient connus sous le nom de

8. C. Verlinden: Traite des esclaves et cols alpins au haut moyen âge (Herbert Hassinger Festschrift Innsbrück, 1977, pp. 377-387.
9. Le Kitab est publié et traduit par M.J. de Goeje dans Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, t. VI, (Leiden, 1889). La traduction française du passage sur les Radaniya est à la p. 114.
10. Anexos de Cuadernos de Historia de España (Buenos Aires, 1983) t. II, pp. 108-132.
11. M.G.H. Formulae Merov, et Karol, p. 325 (Form. imperiales n° 52).

Sakāliba, mot clairement dérivé de l'ethnonyme des Slaves; ce terme en vint à signifier plus tard eunuque, ce qui prouve que beaucoup de captifs slaves étaient réduits à cet état par les marchands. Ce devait être le cas pour bon nombre des "garçons" dont parle Ibn Khordadbeh. D'Espagne ces esclaves étaient répandus dans tout le monde musulman et byzantin. Ibn Khordadbeh cite de nombreux endroits du monde arabe par où passent le Radaniya et mentionne nommément Constantinople. Au Xème siècle ce dernier point est confirmé par le Kitab surat al-ard d'Ibn Haukal[12].

Dans l'Empire byzantin il y avait des esclaves du fisc dans les industries de monopole, comme les femmes gynéciaires des filatures d'Etat, les κογχυλευταὶ des manufactures de vêtements de pourpre, les ouvriers des exploitations minières ou des boulangeries, pour lesquelles ils faisaient le travail très dur de la moûture du blé. Tout ceci d'après les Basiliques[13]. L'Eglise possédait onze cents boutiques à Constantinople dont le main d'oeuvre était largement esclave[14]. Bien des pauvres étaient obligés de vendre leurs enfants et parfois eux-mêmes aux δυνατοὶ[15]. Certains de ceux-ci possédaient de véritables troupeaux d'esclaves. Lorsque Daniélis, grande propriétaire de Morée, voulut à la fin du IXème siècle faire sa cour à Basile Ier, elle se fit porter à Constantinople par 300 jeunes esclaves qui se relayaient par groupes de dix. Arrivée dans la capitale, elle offrit 500 esclaves, parmi lesquels 100 eunuques et 100 femmes au basileus. A sa mort le protospathaire Zénobe, chargé par Léon VI de liquider la succession, affranchit 3000 esclaves que l'empereur transféra en Italie byzantine comme colons[16].

Les eunuques que reçut Basile Ier allèrent rejoindre ceux, très nombreux, qui servaient dans les palais impériaux[17]. Ils étaient les esclaves que l'on payait le plus cher. Leur importation est permise par le Code Justinien repris dans les Basiliques[18].

C'est au Xème siècle que Byzance fut intégrée dans la grande traite des eunuques slaves. C'est alors qu'Ibn Hqukal dit que l'itinéraire des

12. Ed. J.H. Kremers et G. Wiet t. I (Paris, 1964) p. 109.
13. Livre XLVIII, t. IV; 1. XIII, t. II.
14. Novelle XII de Léon le Sage (ed. P. Noailles et A. Dain Paris, 1944, p. 50).
15. G. Testaud: Des rapports des puissants et des petits propriétaires ruraux dans l'Empire byzantin au Xème siècle (Bordeaux, 1898) p. 79.
16. Continuation de Théophane (ed. Bekker, 1838) pp. 316 sqq.
17. R. Guilland: Les eunuques dans l'Empire byzantin (Revue des études byzantines, t. I. 1943, pp. 197-235). Fonctions et dignités des eunuques (Ibid. t. II, 1944, pp. 185-225).
18. LXIX, t. I, c. LXXXIX.

Radaniya passe par Constantinople, et nous avons un témoignage occidental très précis de la même époque, notamment celui de Liutprand de Crémone. Envoyé par Bérenger II d'Ivrée, roi d'Italie, comme ambassadeur auprès de l'empereur Constantin VII Porphyrogenète en 949-950, il lui apporta comme présent "mancipia quatuor carsamatia"[19]. Dans son Antapodosis il précise que, comme Bérenger avait été fort pingre de présents, c'est lui, Liutprand, qui avait acquis ces esclaves en cours de route, c'est-à-dire en se rendant à Constantinople, et cela en même temps que "loricas optimas VIIII, scuta optima cum bullis deauratis VII, coppas argenteas deauratas II, enses, lanceas, verua, mancipia IIII or carzimasia, imperatori nominatis omnibus preciosiora". Et il ajoute "Carzimasium autem greci vocant amputatis virilibus et virga puerum eunuchum; quod Verdunenses mercatores ob immensum lucrum facere... solent"[20]. Nous savons par Ibn Khordadbeh que les marchands juifs Radanyia exportaient de France des eunuques et des armes, notamment les fameuses épées franques (enses)[21]. Nous savons par Liutprand que leur "manufacture" d'eunuques se trouvait à Verdun et qu'on pouvait leur acheter des eunuques et des armes sur la route de Constantinople. Le nom qui désigne en grec les eunuques à ce moment est Καριζιμᾶς que l'on trouve aussi dans la continuation de Théophane, 145, 19 (22) et dont le "carzimasius" de Liutprand est la latinisation. D'autre part, à en croire le Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods de A. SOPHOCLES[23], l'étymologie du terme est hébraïque. L'ensemble du dossier est catégorique et prouve que les Radaniya sont les vendeurs auxquels s'est adressé Liutprand. Ils étaient donc certainement aussi des fournisseurs d'eunuques pour la cour byzantine.

Sans doute cette importation d'eunuques slaves aura-t-elle rendu un peu moins fréquente la transformation en eunuques de non-libres grecs, d'ailleurs défendue par la novelle LXIX de Léon de Sage[24]. La pratique

19. Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana, VI, 3.
20. Liutprandi episcopi Cremonensis opera, ed. J. Becker. (3è ed. 1915, SS. rer. Germ in us. schol) p. 155.
21. A. Zeki Validi: Dia Schwerter der Germanen nach arabischen Berichten des 9-11 Jahrhunderts (Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, t. 90, 1926, pp. 19 sqq.
22. J. Koder et Th. Weber: Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zum griechischen Sprachschatz und zu realien kundlichen Aussagen in seinen Werken (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 13 (1980) p. 99.
23. Réédition anastatique de 1975, p. 631.
24. Ed. P. Noailles et A. Dain (Paris, 1944) p. 222.

devait cependant continuer car la novelle ajoute, assez hypocritement, que l'amputation "n'est contraire ni à notre volonté, ni à la loi, si elle n'est pas faite pour mutiler la nature, mais pour la secourir". Ce secours consistait à créer une réserve comme serviteurs de gynécée, de "créatures nouvelles et différentes de ce qu'avait conçu la sagesse du Créateur". C'était voiler sous des mots pieux l'orientalisation croissante des moeurs de cour byzantines. Mais, bien entendu, il y avait aussi des esclaves d'un autre genre dans les diverses activités dont parle le livre du Préfet, depuis la banque, jusqu'à la savonnerie, le travail de la soie et la vente des vêtements[25]. Tout cela était possible par l'action conjointe de la traite et de la guerre. Or, la grande traite juive finit au XIème siècle, et les prisonniers de guerre commencent à jouir de la protection de la notion de membres de la société chrétienne quand il s'agit de prisonniers balkaniques. Le IXème et surtout le Xème siècles ont donc été à Byzance ceux où l'esclavage était le plus répandu à la fois par la guerre et par la traite.

CHARLES VERLINDEN

25. Ed. Nicole (1893) tit. II, IV, VIII, XI, XII.

The Image of the Arabs in Middle-Byzantine Politics. A Study in the Enemy Principle (8th-10th Centuries)

In 913/914 A.D., Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople wrote that "There are two lordships, that of the Saracens and that of the Romans which stand above all lordship on Earth, and shine out like the two mighty beacons in the firmament. They outht, for this very reason alone, to be in contact and brotherhood and not, because we differ in our lives and habits and religion, remain alien in all ways to each other..."[1] This statement appears in a letter of the Patriarch, president of the Regency Council for the child-emperor Constantine VII at that time, to the Caliph Al-Muqtadir[2]. It sums up the major differences between the two societies, while attesting to their preeminence as the two supreme powers of the area.

The same attitude, based on a principle of mutual respect –if not on an equality basis–, is reflected in the use of qualifications such as "magnificent, most noble and most prominent Primate of the Agarenes"[3]

1. *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters,* ed. R.J. H. Jenkins – L.G. Westerink, *Dumbarton Oaks* 1973, letter n. 1/16-21 p. 2: "Ὅτι δύο κυριότητες πάσης τῆς ἐν γῇ κυριότητος, ἥ τε τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ρωμαίων, ὑπερανέχουσι καὶ διαλάμπουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ δύο μεγάλοι ἐν τῷ στερεώματι φωστῆρες, καὶ δεῖ κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο μόνον κοινωνικῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἀδελφικῶς, καὶ μὴ διότι τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ τῷ σεβάσματι κεχωρίσμεθα, παντάπασιν ἀλλοτρίως διακεῖσθαι..." (English Translation, *ibid* p. 3).

2. The correction of the erroneous title of the letter "to the Emir of Crete" is due to R.J. H. Jenkins, *op. cit.,* p. 526.

3. J.J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae byzantinae, CSHB* Bonn 1829-30, II, p. 686 (Henceforth DE CERIMONIIS): "τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ, εὐγενεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ ὁ δεῖνα πρωτοσυμβούλῳ καὶ διατάκτορι τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν..."

in the address of the Emperor's official letters to the Caliph. A similar kind of respect may also be found in Byzantine treatises on specific subjects, especially military ones, such as the Tactica and the Naumachica by Leo the Wise[4]. Here, the Arabs are shown to have produced ideas, knowledge, values and a working social system, and to display qualities and motivations that seem reasonable and logical and command respect, even if the Byzantine author begrudged them those qualities and questioned their motivation[5].

It seems that these Greek sources reflect an acceptance of the Arabs at the Arabs' own evaluation.

Such is the case of the difference in the army recruiting system between Byzantines and Arabs, recorded in Leo VI's Tactica. According to this text the Saracens have no recruiting catalog[6] but serve on a voluntary basis, or when not able to do so, contribute in kind, by offering horses and weapons. But, adds the emperor, always meanfull of upholding Byzantine superiority, they are doing this both for the purpose of gain and in support of their religion[7].

However, this view of the Arabs, derived from and tempered by, the necessities of Protocole and international policy within the context of Arab-Byzantine relations,[8] was not the one that prevailed in Middle-

4. V. Christides, "Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries). An Arabic Translation of Leo VI's 'Naumachica' ", *Graeco-Arabica* III, 1984, pp. 137-148. *Idem* "Two Parallel Naval Guides of the Tenth Century. Qudāma's Document and Leo VI's Naumachica: A study on Byzantine and Moslem Naval Preparedness". *Graeco-Arabica* I, 1982, pp. 51-103.

5. For the image of the Arabs as a parallel "alter ego" to the Byzantines, providing a model for the Byzantine army, see G. Dagron, " "Ceux d'en face". Les peuples étrangers dans les traités militaires byzantins", *Travaux et Memoires* (TM) 10, 1987, pp. 207-232, especially p. 223 ff.

6. T.G. Kolias, "The Tactica of Leo VI the Wise and the Arabs", *Graeco-Arabica* III, 1984, pp. 129-135, especially p. 134: The emperor urges his subjects not only to do what "a barbarous and unfaithful nation" does, but furthermore, to care for the property of the absent (Byzantine) soldiers and provide the army with horses and other supplies.

On the recruitment in Byzantium see, J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and conscription in the Byzantine Army c. 550 – c. 950 – A study on the origins of the Stratiotika Ktemata,* Wien 1979.

7. Leonis TACTICA, *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) 107, col. 952 C: "οὐ γάρ δουλείᾳ καὶ στρατείᾳ ἐκστρατεύουσι Σαρακηνοὶ, ἀλλὰ φιλοκερδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἢ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ληστείᾳ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πίστεως, μᾶλλον δ' εἰπεῖν ἀπιστίας τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ..."

8. See A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* I-II, Bruxelles 1935-68; M. Canard, *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient,* Variorum Reprints, London 1973, as well as numerous

Byzantine Politics, nor the most widespread among the different strata of Byzantine society.

On the contrary, what particularly strikes the reader of byzantine literature who attempts to elucidate the Byzantines' views of the Islamic World, is the negative potential of their perception of the Arabs, and that, despite all efforts to come to a gradual understanding[9].

It has been argued that the Byzantine views of Muslim Arabs were strongly colored by the religious difference[10].

Without detracting from this opinion[11], I should like to stress another aspect of the Image of the Arabs in the Byzantine thought and its use in Byzantine politics: that of the Enemy with a capital E.

During the historical period under discussion i.e. 8th-10th centuries, the two empires were in a state of almost perpetual conflict. Their relations could easily be described in terms of a series of major battles and minor raids, broken only by a number of truces. This state of affairs could not fail but influence their peoples' views of each other.

For the Byzantines, the Arabs — who had twice already menaced Constantinople itself, ravaged the eastern provinces of the Empire and later, especially after their establishment in Crete, in the beginning of the 9th century[12], continuously raided the islands of the Aegean Sea[13] –

articles on Arab-Byzantine contacts and mutual influences in various fields. See *inter alia,* G.E. von Grunebaum, "Parallelism, Convergence and Influence in the Relations of Arab and Byzantine Philosophy, Literature and Piety" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (DOP) 18 (1964) pp. 91-111; Oleg Grabar, "Islamic Art and Byzantium" *DOP* 18, (1964) pp. 69-88.

9. Elizabeth Jeffreys "The Image of the Arabs in Byzantine Literature". *The 17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies,* Washington 1986, *Major Papers,* N.Y. 1986, pp. 305-323, especially p. 320-321.

10. See J. Meyendorff, "Byzantine views of Islam", *DOP* 18 (1964) pp. 115-32; also Adel Th. Khoury, *Polemique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIIIs-XIIIs),* Leiden 1972, as well as the old but always valid study of C. Güterbock, *Der Islam im Lichte der byzantinischen Polemik,* Berlin 1912.

11. It is, however, interesting to note that for all their polemical tendency, demeaning terms and virulent expressions are extremely rare in early byzantine refutations of Islam. See, A. Khoury, *Les Theologiens byzantins et l'Islam,* Louvain 1969, p. 118.

12. The date of the conquest of Crete by the Arabs has been subject to debate. N. Panayiotakis, for instance, "Ζητήματα τινά τῆς κατακτήσεως τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 15-16/2, 1962, p. 18 speaks of a gradual conquest beginning in 824 AD and spanning several years. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca 824) A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam,* Athens 1984, p. 85 ff. dates it in the aftermath of the rebellion of Thomas (824 AD), while E. Malamut, *Les iles de l'Empire Byzantin VIII-XII siècles,* Paris 1988, p. 71 ff., although adhering to Christides' arguments concerning the cause-effect relationship between the revolt of Thomas and the Arab conquest of Crete, prefers the somewhat later date of 825-826 AD.

13. V. Christides "The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea, Piracy and Conquest" *Byzantion 51* (1981) pp. 76-111, espec. pp. 81-89.

were their perpetual nemesis, a constant danger to the very existence of the Byzantine Empire.

Needless to say, this attitude was mirrored by the other side. For the Arabs, Byzantium was the Enemy "par excellence" throughout the history of Arab-Byzantine relations[14].

In this context, it is not surprising that many byzantine texts, especially works of historiography, official poetry and court orations chose the Arabs for their particular target. Arabs were generally described as ferocious warriors and usually referred to, as "savage beasts"[15] or "barbarian beasts"[16].

They were neverthless cast into the role of the vanquished foe, in order to emphasize Byzantine military valour and to assert the Empire's triumph. For example, a poem on the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs (717/18 AD) written by Theodose the Grammarian, presents them, under the generic name of "Ismael" as "yesterday's arrogant lions and today's humble rabbits"[17].

According to the same line of thought, in a rather theatrical scene of the Tenth Century Poem "On the Fall of Crete" by Theodose the Deacon, the victorious Byzantine general, Nicephorus Phocas, head of the Cretan expedition in 961 AD, kills during the battle of Handax a Cretan Arab of gigantic proportions, who sought to engage him in single combat[18].

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14. See Ahmad M.H. Shboul, "Byzantium and the Arabs: The Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature", *Byzantine Papers/Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference,* (Canberra May 1978), Canberra 1981, pp. 43-68, especially pp. 52-53. See also *Idem,* "Arab views of Byzantium: official, Learned and Popular," *17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies,* (Washington 1986) N.Y. 1986, (Abstracts of short papers).

15. *Leo Diaconus,* Historia, ed. C.B. Hase, *CSHB,* Bonn 1828, p. 12/13 "θηρία τὰ κάκιστα".

16. *Ibid* p. 13/6 "βάρβαρα θηρία".

17. Σπ. Λάμπρου, "Ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων δευτέρα πολιορκία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ὁ Θεοδόσιος ὁ Γραμματικὸς", *Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα,* Ἀθῆναι 1888 pp. 129-144, especially p. 131/59-65 "χθὲς ἧς (Ἰσμαὴλ)ἀλαζὼν καὶ κατωῤῥυωμένος/ καὶ νῦν ταπεινὸς καὶ κατηχρειωμένος/ χθὲς νικοποιός, σήμερον κεκλιμένος/ χθὲς βλοσυρὸν τε καὶ λεόντειον βλέπων/ καὶ νῦν κατηφὴς ὡς λαγωὸς ἐν λίνοις."

18. N.M. Παναγιωτάκης, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ "Ἅλωσις τῆς Κρήτης",* Ἡράκλειον 1960, p. 109, ἀκρόασις β´, στίχ. 238-244: "εἷς οὖν ἐκείνων ἦν ἀνὴρ Κρὴς ἱππότης/ γιγαντοειδής, ὅς λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα/ καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν, τῷ στρατηγῷ τῆς μάχης/ ἐναντίως ἤλαυνε προσβαλεῖν θέλων/ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ἡ δίκη τοῦτον φθάσαι·/ πλήττει γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ κρατῶν Νικηφόρος/ τῆς ὀσφύος κάτωθεν ὀμφαλοῦ μέσον."

This view of the Arab enemy combined fear, a grudging respect and also a kind of contempt, since it assumed either a Byzantine victory, or an Arab one, when God willed it as a punishment for the Byzantines who had fallen from Divine Grace.

The best example of this attitude is to be found in an oration of Nicholas the Patriarch on the Fall of Thessalonica (904 AD): "What of the invasion at this moment of a *mixed rabble* of Assyrians and Egyptians who in their campaign against us (oh for my miseries!) appear like heroes, instead of the paralyzed and almost skinless weaklings they are..."[19].

Inspite of its rethorical formalism, this text attest the preeminence of the Arabs in the thought-world of the Byzantines.

Through long association, the Arab became in the Byzantine political thought the image of the enemy, of an ever-present danger to Byzantine supremacy. This assimilation is evident when an orator of the standing of Theodore Daphnopates, celebrating the peace with Bulgaria in 927 AD, compares another menace, "the wolves of the West" i.e. the Bulgarians, with "those of the East" i.e. the Arabs[20]. The fact that Daphnopates uses the Arabs as a standard against which he measures other enemies is significant in itself. After all, the terms and expressions employed to describe the Bulgarians and their leaders, were similar to those used for the Arabs[21]. Daphnopates himself describes them as "more persistent and bold" enemies than the Arabs. Nevertheless, their image did not correspond to an enemy image in the same way that the image of the Arabs encompassed the Enemy Image in the Byzantine thought process. It might be that their conversion to Christianity altered their perception by the Byzantines accordingly. They no more could be taxed with accusations at "impiety", "sin" etc. Even as enemies, they were

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19. Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Miscellaneous Writings,* ed. L.G. Westerink, *DOT* IX, Washington 1981 p. 10/ 32-37 (English translation by L.G. Westerink): "Πόθεν γοῦν ἡ δυσσεβής ἔφοδος ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων σύμμικτος καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ἀνθρωπίων, ἤ γεννάδας αὐτοὺς (φεῦ τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν) καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκστρατεύσασα δείκνυσιν ἀντὶ παρειμένων καὶ μικροῦ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐρήμων δορὰς..."

20. R. Jenkins, "The Peace with Bulgaria (927) celebrated by Theodore Daphnopates", *Variorum Reprints XXI,* London 1970, p. 289 (Polychronion. Festschrift Fr. Dölger, Heidelberg 1966) "ὅτι τοὺς *ἑσπερίους λύκους* καὶ τῶν ἑώων περιεργοτέρους καὶ θρασυτέρους...".

21. The "Life of St. Luke the Younger" for instance, *(PG* 111, col. 453 C) describes the Bulgarian Tzar Symeon, Byzantium's most prominent enemy at the beginning of the Xth Century, as "ἀλιτήριος" i.e. "miserable", a term often applied to the Arabs. Likewise, the "Life of St. Mary the Younger", *Acta Sanctorum* (ACTA SS) Nov. IV p. 700, § 23, refers to the same Symeon as "ἀνὴρ θηριώδης".

fellow Christians[22]. The Arabs, on the other hand, had no such protection. Their image was codified as an Enemy Image almost to the point of obsession.

This will be most emphatically stressed later, in the tenth century, when the traditional welcoming acclamation to the Emperor "Welcome back, most brave, most victorious, most pious" will be completed by the formula "welcome you, who caused Ismael to fall back in defeat"[23] composed for Nicephorus II Phocas.

It is however in the more popular Byzantine literature, the hagiographical literature[24] where Arabs are described by the most biting virulent expressions, the most demeaning, even the most bigoted terms. They are almost constantly referred to as "barbarians", a term often used for the non-christians,[25] but also a term loaded from the hellenistic times henceforth, with a cultural content similar to our own.

A tenth century text, the "Life, Education and Miracles of St. Theodore", speaks of a "rabble of barbarians"[26], the "Life of St. Antony the Younger" (IXth century) presents the saint exhorting the Byzantine general Petronas to fight against the "barbarians" i.e. the Arabs[27]. Also the "Tale of the 42 martyrs of Amorium" describes the Arab army of Al Mut'aṣim that destroyed Amorium in 839 AD, as a "multitude of barbarian and murderous nations, stronglipped and stummering" "πλῆθος ἐθνῶν... βαρβάρων ἀγριοφόνων λαῶν βαθυχείλων καὶ βραδυγλώσσων"[28], while the "Tale on the Invasion of the Lavra

22. Theodore Daphnopates himself provides us with a proof in his oration "on the Peace with Bulgaria", *loc cit* (see above note 20) p. 289 "τοσαύτῃ μετεστοιχείωσεν ἱλαρότητι...": "(God) has transformed the wolves of the West, more persistent and bold than those of the East, into such cheerfulness..." (English translation by R.J.H. Jenkins *op. cit.* (see above note 20), p. 293).

23. DE CERIMONIIS I, 96, p. 438: "καλῶς ἦλθες ἀνδριώτατε, νικητὰ, ἀεισέβαστε,/ καλῶς ἦλθες δι' οὗ ὑπετάγησαν ἔθνη./ Διὰ σοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ ἡττηθεὶς κατεπτώθη".

24. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*[2], München 1897, p. 176-205; Fr. Halkin, "Etudes byzantines et Hagiographie", *Analecta Bollandiana (An. Boll.)* 70, 1952, pp. 344-366, Idem, "L'hagiographie au service de l'histoire", *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies,* (Oxford 1966), London 1967, pp. 345-354 especially p. 345, considers the saints' lifes, the literary successes, the "best sellers" of Byzantine times.

25. E. Jeffreys, *op. cit.* p. 321.

26. "Vita, Educatio et Miraculi S. Theodoti", *ACTA SS,* Nov. IV, § 12, p. 53E "στῖφος βαρβάρων".

27. F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Petronas le vainqueur des Arabes" *An. Boll.* 62, 1944, p. 219 "ἔξελθε οὖν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ καταπολέμησον τοὺς βαρβάρους".

28. V. Vasiljevskij - P. Nikitin, "Skazanija o 42 amorijeskikh mucenikakh" *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademij Nayk,* VII, 82, St. Petersbourg 1905, p. 11.

Monastery" (797 AD), presents us with the equation "βαρβάρων ἤγουν Σαρακηνῶν"[29].

The Arabs are presented as a savage, cruel enemy and oppressor, very much in the same way as their barbarian ancestors i.e. the idololatrous tribes of the hagiographical historical romances of previous centuries such as the "Narrations" of Nilus[30]. Furthermore, the Arabs of the hagiographical sources are almost always, "ἀλιτήριοι" i.e. "nefarious", "miserable", "guilty sinners"[31] "πονηρότατοι" i.e. "wicked", "deceivers"[32] "φονικοὶ" i.e. "slaughterous, murderous" and/or "ἀλάστορες" i.e. "miserable destroyers"[33] as well as "ἄθλιοι" i.e. "miserables"[34].

The objectivity of those statements appears to be impaired both by the literary precedent and by a tendancy towards emotionalism in order to achieve the most impressive effect on the reader's mind. It is noteworthy however, that this imagery and allusions were clearly understood by Byzantine readers.

The emotional undertones as well as the calculated psychological impact of this image of the "savage Arab" argues for a literary cliché, a preconstructed Enemy-Image, rather than a direct perception. It means that, the Arabs being the enemy power of the time[35], both for religious and for political reasons, their appearance under the most unfavorable light was almost obligatory for the Byzantine Empire. It was in fact a measure of "cultural self-defence". To present the enemy as someone trully alien, and furthermore to codify his image in a way that epitomized the Byzantine Christian society's feared vices, was a way of insuring that the two societies would stay alien.

Thus it is rather ironic to note that the evolution of the Image of the Arab

29. "Tale on the Invasion of the Lavra Monastery" ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnij Palestisnskij Sbornik* XIX 3, fasc. 57, 1907, p. 1.

30. See V. Christides, *The Image of the Pre-Islamic Arabs in the Byzantine Sources,* Princeton University Press, January 1970, pp. 51-52, 63 n. 111.

31. Vita, Educatio et Miraculi S. Theodori, *loc. cit.* p. 52C-53D.

32. *Ibid* p. 426 C.

33. *Tale on the Invasion of the Lavra Monastery, loc. cit.* p. 22.

34. "Tale of the 63 Martyrs in the Reign of Leo III", ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavinij Palestinskij Sbornik* 57, pp. 136-163, especially p. 152.

35. A comparative study of the Byzantine perception of the Empire's principal adversaries throughout its history (Persians, Arabs etc.) could provide us with an analysis of each Enemy-Image original characteristics, as well as its debts and loans. It is however, still a desideratum.

as a long-standing Enemy had its own impact on the internal Byzantine conflicts.

The imagery used to depict the Arabs as evil marauders and to create the image of the Arab-Enemy, could, once the characteristics of that image were firmly established and the image itself easily recognized by the Byzantine public, be exploited against any internal enemy. It was a method that drew parallels in order to identify the internal enemy (i.e. the opposition of the moment) with the external one, i.e. the Arabs.

This was, to all intents and purposes, similar to the contemporary "one and only enemy" principle,[36] and could be used in terms both of reality and of abstraction.

In the level of reality, the most prominent feature of this quasi-identification was the accusation of high treason, of collusion with the Arab enemy. Thus, in order to rally public opinion against Thomas in 822/23 AD, the Emperor Michel II accused his opponent of being a traitor who would become the instrument of an Arab conquest of Byzantium[37]. The accusation was however hardly consistent with the well-known sympathy that Thomas professed towards the Iconophile cause. Nevertheless it served its purpose, as proved by its consistency in byzantine historiography[38].

During the Iconoclast controversy, the leading iconophiles encountered the same treatment. Considered enemies of the Emperor and of the State by the fact itself that they openly opposed his religious policy[39] they were treated as such,[40] and hunted down when they attempted to find refuge in the lands under Arab rule.

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36. J.M. Domenach, *La propagande politique,* Paris 1978 pp. 49-53.

37. J. Van den Gheyn, "Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo", *An. Boll* 18, 1899, pp. 209-259, especially p. 232/7-8. P. Lemerle, examining this case, rejects the accusation as a propaganda rumour spread by Michael II. See P. Lemerle, "Thomas le slave" *(TM)* 1, 1965, pp. 255-297, especially pp. 287-289.

38. For an overall analysis of Thomas' relations with the Arabs, see Helga Köpstein, "L'usurpateur byzantin Thomas et les Arabes", *Graeco-Arabica* IV, 1991, pp. 127-140.

39. According to Byzantine Law, following Roman Law in that precedent, a person who had spoken against the emperor could be judged guilty of high treason. See Ecloga 17. γ. "ὁ κατὰ βασιλέως φατριάζων ἤ βουλευόμενος (...) ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τινὲς ἀκρίτως (τοῦτον) φονεύσωσι ἀπολογίαν ἐσχάτως προσφέροντες ὡς *κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλάλησεν...*" Iconophiles could, by the same thought process, most certainly be proven guilty of treason against the imperial doctrine. An example of this is St. George of Cyprus. declared "enemy of the Emperor" for having profered insidious words against the Emperor "ὡς λαλήσας κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πονηρὰ": See M. Melioranskij, "Georgii Kiprjanin i Ioann Ierosalimljanin, dva borca za pravoslavie v VIII veke", *Zapiski Istoriko-*

The monk Theosebes, for instance, author of the life of St. George of Cyprus writes that after the Saint's arrest, he found sanctuary in Syria ("διεσώθην ἐν Συρίᾳ")[41].

Legally speaking, since Byzantine Law proclaimed a traitor any person crossing over to an enemy land[42], this defection gave iconoclast authorities a perfect opportunity to dispose of the iconophiles as enemies of the Empire, in the same way as the Arabs, while staying within the limits of formal justice. It was a near-transparent identification of an internal to an external enemy for purposes of state propaganda.

On the other hand, the iconophile opposition returned against the iconoclasts the accusation of collaborating with the Arabs, in a different way.

For one, they accused the iconoclasts of adherring to a doctrine of islamic tendancies and origins. This even found an official expression by John of Jerusalem in the proceedings of the second Council of Nicea (787 AD)[43]. Needless to say, this accusation exploited the well-known fact of an Arab Iconoclasm. Although its influence on Byzantine Iconoclasm remains controversial[44], the argument itself speaks for the existence of influence in some degree: a propaganda message must have a basis in truth in order to succeed.

Filologiceskogo Fakulteta Imp. S. Petershurskogo Universitata 59, S. Petersbourg 1901. (Henceforth Melioranskij *Nouthesia)* VIII/98.

Another example is to be found in the "Life of the Patriarch Tarasius", when John, the Patriarch's teacher, is menaced with the sword for having spoken against the imperial authority: "ὡς ἐναντία τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἀποπτύοντος". See J.A. Heikel, Ignatii Diaconi Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, *Acta Societatis Scientarum Fennicae* 17, 1891, p. 412.

40. The "Life of St. John the Psicha" accuses iconoclasts of arresting and killing iconophiles as if they were enemies: *"ὡς ἐχθρούς* τινὰς θηρωμένων τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνιστὰς" See, P. Van den Ven, "La vie de S. Jean le Psichaite" *Le Muséon* NS III, 1902, pp. 97-125.

41. Meliorasnkij, *Nouthesia* p. XXXIX/9.

42. DIGESTA 48. 4.2 = BASILICA LX, 36.2: "ὁ ἰδιώτης φεύγων πρὸς πολεμίους".

43. MANSI, XIII, cols. 196-200.

44. A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme Byzantin. Dossier Archeologique,* Paris 1957, p. 108, pointed out that Byzantine Iconoclasm may well have been a way to counter Moslem propaganda in the frontier provinces. On the theoretical basis of Iconoclasm and the parallel islamic argumentation see: G. Strohmaier, "Byzantinischer und judich islamischer Ikonoklasmus", *Der Byzantinische Bilderstreit. Sozialökonomische Vorausetzungen – ideologische Grundlagen – geschichtliche Wirkungen,* (ed. I. Irmscher) Leipzig 1980, pp. 83-90 esp. p. 86.

See also, P. Speck, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen. Die Legenden vom Einfluss des Teufels des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus,* Bonn 1990, esp. p. 25sq, p. 115sq.

Furthermore they accused iconoclast emperors, such as Leo III, of being under the influence of heretics, Jews and Arabs[45], as attested by the accusation of "Arab-thinker" attributed to this emperor[46].

There was, however a more subtle but more damaging way that provided a quasi-assimilation of the internal opponent (iconoclasts) to the external enemy (Arabs): It consisted in adopting for both the same, often demeaning or openly insulting terms.

We have already mentioned some of the references to the Arabs as "ἀλιτήριοι" i.e. "nefarious", "miserable sinners", "πονηρότατοι" i.e. "wicked, deceivers", "φονικοὶ/ἀλάστορες" i.e. "murderous destroyers", "ἄθλιοι" i.e. "miserables", "θηρία τὰ κάκιστα" i.e. "savage beasts", "barbarians".

Here are some more, used to describe Mahomet, such as "σαρκόφρων" i.e. "corporally minded"[47], "θεοστυγής" i.e. "God abhorred"[48], "θεομάχος" i.e. "enemy of God"[49], and Mahomet's followers such as "ἐσκοτισμένοι" i.e. "who find themselves in the dark"[50], "ἀνόσιοι καὶ δυσσώνυμοι ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀνώνυμοι" i.e. "impious and ill-named or rather unnamable"[51], "μοχθηροὶ καὶ θηριώδεις" i.e. "cruel and beastly"[52] etc.

If we compare them with the terms used by the iconophiles for the iconoclast emperors, and for iconoclasts in general, the similarities are evident: the staunch iconoclast emperor Constantin V is called

45. See for example, the story of the conversion of Leo III to the Iconoclasm by an anonymous Jew: *Adversus Constantinum Cabalinum, PG* 99, cols. 336-337 A.

46. Theophanis Chronographia, ed. J. Classen, *CSHR,* Bonn 1834, p. 631 "Ἀραβικῷ φρονήματι κρατυνόμενος", on the relevant epithet "σαρακηνόφρων" as a term of abuse applied to this emperor, as well as its other uses, see, B. Baldwin, "Theophanes on the Iconoclasm of Leo III", *Byzantion* 60, 1990, pp. 426-428.

47. Georgii Monachi Chronicon II, ed. I. Bekker, Leipsig 1905 (Henceforth *Georges the Monk),* p. 701/21.

48. *Ibid,* p. 702/4-5.

49. *Ibid,* p. 702/12.

50. *Ibid,* p. 702/17. This term refers both to the "dark", i.e. unenlightened religion of the Arabs and to their "dark" appearence: "The Tale on the invasion of the Lavra Monastery" *loc. cit.,* p. 22 calls the Arabs "μελανοὶ καὶ ζοφεροὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι" thus establishing a parallel between their appearance and their religious beliefs. Conserning the impression made by this dark-skinned exterior and its historical implications, see V. Christides, "The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources", *Byzantinoslavica* 43/1, (1982) p. 11 ff.

51. *George the Monk* p. 703/15-16.

52. *Ibid* p. 704/19.

"παμπόνηρος" i.e. "most wicked"[53], "ἀνόσιος" i.e. "impious"[54], Leo V "δυσσώνυμος" i.e. "ill-named"[55] "πανοῦργος" i.e. deceiving"[56], "ἀλιτήριος" i.e. "miserable"[57] "βάρβαρος" i.e. "barbarian"[58], while iconoclasts qualify as "χριστομάχοι" i.e. "enemies of Christ"[59] and "φιλόκοσμοι" i.e. "lovers of ornamentation"[60].

The identification is more explicit still, when the "Life of St. Stephen of Sougdaia" calls the iconoclasts "λύκους Ἄραβας" i.e. "Arab wolves"[61].

This list is far from exhaustive. It illustrates however the way in which the image of the Enemy-Arab was superimposed on the image of the iconoclast adversary, thus creating a "negative" image, a cliché to be used against every internal adversary.

The elements included were not desultory: terms such as "ἀνώνυμοι" i.e. "unnamable" or "δυσσώνυμοι" i.e. "ill-named" were a very powerful weapon since they denied the enemy even his right to a name, to the shadow of existence. Their uses for propaganda purposes are self-explanatory.

What is more important in our byzantine example, is that the image of the external enemy (the Arabs) became in fact, an Archetypal Negative Image which was almost an antithesis of the imperial ideal[62]. It destroyed essential attributes of this ideal such as the protection of faith and the protection of people.

53. C. Van de Vorst, "Un panégyrique de S. Théophane le Chronographe par S. Théodore Studite" *An. Boll.,* 31, 1912 p. 21/8.

54. Theophanis Chronographia p. 674/7.

55. C. Van de Vorst, "La Translation de S. Théodore Studite et de S. Joseph de Thessalonique", *An. Boll.* 32, 1913, p. 52.

56. Life of St. Nicetas of Medikion, *ACTA SS,* Apr. I. p. XXXA.

57. The Life of St. John of Psicha (passim) uses this term instead of the name of Leo V.

58. Life of the Patriarch Nicephorus, *PG* 100, col. 136 A.

59. "Horos" of the Nicean Council (787 AD). See H. Hennerhof (ed.), *Textus Byzantini ad Iconomachiam pertinentes,* Leiden 1969, p. 20.

60. *Nicephori Patriarchae Antirrheticus III, PG* 100, col. 458 B-C.

61. "Life of St. Stephan of Sougdaia", Ed. V. Vasilevskij (following the edition of the Life of George of Amastris). "...πέμψας ὁ θὴρ Λέων λύκους Ἄραβας, συνασπιστὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπράκτορας, τὸ πρόβατον τοῦ θεοῦ κατήρπαξαν". This term goes back to the byzantine biblical reading (Habac. 1.8: "ὀξύτεροι ὑπέρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας"), but it gradually acquired a political meaning of its own.

62. H. Hunger, "Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden", *Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* I, Wien 1964, pp. 305-329. See also I. Καραγιαννόπουλος: *Η πολιτική θεωρία των Βυζαντινών,* Θεσσαλονίκη 1988, p. 35 and H. Ahrweiler, *Ideologie politique de l'Empire Byzantin* Paris, 1975, passim.

When applied to a particular byzantine emperor this "Enemy Image" became a direct attack to that emperor's public image which ought to be in accordance with the imperial doctrine. Thus the "Enemy Image" challenged the legal basis of the imperial authority, paving the way to open rebellion.

This might seem something of a retribution, but the fact remains that out of the image of the Arab-Enemy grew a kind of "Mirror Image" which could apply to the Byzantine Emperor himself.

N.A. KOUTRAKOU

Galen of Pergamon in Arabic and the editorial program of the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum

Galen of Pergamon (129 – after 200) is now considered to be the most important physician of classical antiquity after Hippocrates. Being one of the most prolific writers in the Greek language, he tried with some success to make his fortune in Rome, the capital of the Roman empire, and became even a court physician to Marcus Aurelius. Nevertheless he left almost no traces of his activities in the West, Latin authors do not quote him, he failed to found a school in Rome unlike the other medical sects with whom he quarreled continuously throughtout his life. As a so-called dogmatist he sided with Aristotle in the main tenets of his natural philosophy[1], he believed in the teleological structure of the human body and in the usefulness of anatomical research. His lack of success in Rome corresponds with the fact that he himself did not think very highly of the intellectual capacities of the Romans, as we now see in a very interesting passage in his commentary on Hippocrates' Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων, that is preserved only in an Arabic translation[2].

On the other hand, how shall we explain his remarkable popularity both in Byzantine Greece and in mediaeval Islam, which is the cause that so much of his literary corpus was transmitted to us both in the Greek and Arabic versions? The reason lies, I think, in the existence of the Alexandrian school. The so-called iatrosophists teaching there were in need of a medical theory that was compatible with Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy, and Galen recommended himself in this respect

1. P. Moraux, *Galien comme philosophe: la philosophie de la nature*. In: *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, ed. by V. Nutton, London 1981, pp. 87-166; the same, *Aristotelismus bei den Griechen*, vol. 2, Berlin, New York 1984, pp. 736-742.

2. Edited already by G.J. Toomer, *Galen on the Astronomers and Astrologers*. In: *Archive for the History of Exact Sciences* 32, 1985, pp. 193-206.

although he lacks pedagogical qualities. But he was a philosopher and a logician of his own right unlike the other medical authors of his time. The Alexandrian teachers created a canon of sixteen works of Galen to cover all fields of medical theory and practice. These texts were at the basis of the curriculum for students of medicine who gathered there from all over the Greek world. Thus the Alexandrian school had a far reaching influence stretching even to Armenia and the Byzantine outpost of Ravenna in Italy, where some Latin versions of Galenic materials emerged in the fifth or sixth century. The mainstream of this influence, though, went into two directions, first to Byzantium, especially with and after the Arab conquest in the seventh century A.D., and secondly into the regions of Syrian Christendom[3]. Many of the Syrian physicians understood enough Greek in order to read Galen in the original, and Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq, the famous translator of the ninth century A.D., tells us that it was still possible in his time to find and to acquire Greek manuscripts of Galen all over the Muslim territories not only in Egypt but also in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia[4]. But already one century before the rise of Islam the knowledge of Greek was receding among Syrian intellectuals. We see this on behalf of the activity of the first important Syrian translator, Sergius of Rēš'ainā (died 536 A.D.), who studied medicine in Alexandria and translated among other Greek texts 27 works of Galen into Syriac[5]. Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq (808-873), a Christian Arab, lists about 129 works of Galen, which he himself or his pupils or some other contemporaries translated into Syriac and into Arabic[6].

Nowadays we have good insight into the philological standard and the reliability of the translations of the Ḥunain school and we know that they deserve very good notes. Whoever has the opportunity to compare Ḥunain's versions with the Greek original is struck by his keen intelligence and his philological scrupulousness, although he sometimes resorts to a slight paraphrasing whenever he deems it necessary for the benefit of his reader. Thus we can be sure that they provide us a satisfying compensation when the entire Greek version is lost.

3. G. Strohmaier, *Der syrische und der arabische Galen.* In: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* ed. by H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin, New York, vol. II 37,2, ch. I (in the press).

4. Ibid., ch. II.

5. Ibid., ch. III.

6. Ibid., ch. IV and V; see also G.C. Anawati and A.Z. Iskandar, *Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq al-'Ibādī, Abū Zayd.* In: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* vol. 15, New York 1970, pp. 230-249; G. Strohmaier, *Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-'Ibādī.* In: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new ed., vol. 3, Leiden, London 1971, pp. 578-581.

With the decline of Syrian culture and the Syriac language under Arab rule in the following centuries it came about, that only few remnants of these Syriac versions both from Sergius or from Hunain have been preserved[7], but the Arabic versions of the Hunain school had a far better fortune. They were the basis of Arabic medicine, and the vast literary output of Muslim physicians consists to a large extent of a mere rearrangement and elaboration of Galenic material. This holds true especially of the most successful handbooks, the Kitāb al-malakī of 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Maǧūsī and Avicenna's "Canon" that were translated later on into Latin. They fostered the acceptance of the original Galen among those physicians who took pains to acquire a more theoretically based knowledge of their art. Many of them developed an affectionate relationship towards the great master. 'Alī ibn Riḍwān (died 1068), chief physician in Cairo, was even fortunate enough that Galen appeared to him in a dream in order to reveal to him a cure against a headache that he had forgotten in the seventh book of his great "Method of Healing" (θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος)[8]. Some physicians went so far as to blame the handbooks for the decline of medicine[9] that began, indeed, with the eleventh century A.D. But others were content to study the handbooks with their all too harmonious presentation of Greek medicine ignoring the original Galen with his lengthy deliberations where he is often confessing his insecurity and leaves the place open for future research. People like 'Alī ibn Riḍwān urged their colleagues to read the original and lengthy texts of Galen in the translations of the Ḥunain school. Thus it came about that these were copied again and again so that a good deal of them are preserved until to-day. The total amount of the texts within the reach of Ḥunain and his pupils was not totally identical with those known to us through the Byzantine tradition. There are some which are extant only in Greek, others are lost in Greek but known to Ḥunain. Not all of them he could manage to translate, not all of those he actually translated are still extant. But there are about fifteen titles that are preserved only in their Arabic version, some of which still await publication[10].

In the Occident, i.e. the region of the Catholic Church and the Latin

7. R. Degen, *Galen im Syrischen: Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung der Werke Galens.* In: *Galen: Problems...* (see note 1), pp. 131-166.

8. Ibn abī Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā',* ed. by August Müller, vol. 1, Cairo 1882, p. 10 (quotation from Ibn Riḍwān's commentary on Galen's De sectis ad eos qui introducuntur).

9. Ibn Ǧumai', *Treatise to Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn on the revival of the art of medicine,* ed. and transl. by H. Fähndrich (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 46,3), §§ 83-85.

10. Strohmaier, *Der syrische und der arabische Galen...* (see above note 3), ch. VI.

language, a wholly different kind of development took place. The Romans did not bother very much about the exact sciences and also not, as I mentioned already, about the type of medicine represented by Galen. The universities of the West did not inherit very much from the Romans, mainly a bit of Aristotelian logic in the Organon translated by Boethius, Plato's Timaeus in the paraphrase of Chalicidius, some Neoplatonic philosophy in the Church fathers, and some medical handbooks, mainly from the Methodist school, which Galen opposed, and also some tracts of the Hippocratic corpus in old Latin translations. But this stock of indigenous medical knowledge had, at least, the same roots in Greek medicine, and thus formed a favourable basis for the reception of Galenic medicine via the Arabic handbooks of al-Maǧūsī and Avicenna and others that were translated in due course according to the needs of the newly emerging medical studies in Western Europe. These handbooks in their turn favoured the reception of the original Greek Galen from Byzantine manuscripts, for the basic tenets of the Arabic handbooks were essentially the same as in Galen himself, as I already mentioned.

With the invention of the printing press the entire Galen was made accessible to European physicians by Italian printing houses either in Latin translations from the Greek or in the Greek original. These old editions were reprinted with only few improvements by the last complete edition by Karl Gottlob Kühn in more than twenty volumes in Leipzig between 1821 and 1833, and it was still intended to be used by the practising physician. The further rapid progress of medicine in the 19th century finally marked the end of Galen's medical authority.

But at the same time Galen received, instead, a new interest among classical scholars and historians both of medicine and philosophy. Hermann Diels, a member of the Prussian Academy in Berlin and known as the editor of the fragments of the Pre-Socratics, realized that the Renaissance editions of Galen and with them that of Kühn, are highly unreliable according to modern philological standards. They are often not based on the best and oldest manuscripts, and sometimes contain outright falsifications. They are therefore not well suited to serve as a basis for a modern historiography of medicine and also of philosophy. Hermann Diels lived in those prosperous times before the First World War, when international scientific co-operation was already possible on a large scale as it is nowadays. In 1901 in Paris on a meeting of the Interacademic Commission consisting of seventeen representatives of European scientific academies, Hermann Diels together with the Danish scholar Johan Ludwig Heiberg devised the plan to edit a corpus of

ancient medical authors[11]. The program started in 1907, after Diels together with his collaborators had established a catalogue of the relevant manuscripts in the libraries all over Europe[12]. He already realized the importance of the Oriental versions and included them into the catalogue in so far as they were to be found in European collections. The Greek manuscripts Ḥunain was able to work with were generally some centuries older than those we have to rely upon. His translations therefore help to decide between variant readings or to fill up lacunae. But for Hermann Diels and his collaborators the huge stocks of manuscripts in the Orient itself were, with few exceptions, still beyond their reach.

Diels had at first intended to provide the new editions with a translation into a modern language but had to abandon this plan for financial reasons. Another set-back was marked by the First World War with its interruption of international co-operation, but Diels succeeded in restoring the old connections after the end of the hostilities before his death which occured in 1922. In the time between the two World Wars the work went on and it was fostered by a newly increased interest in the history of science and medicine. On the other hand, by a lucky coincidence some Arabists began to extend their research into the field of Graeco-Arabic translation literature. The first pioneering results were given by Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886-1933)[13], who also edited the first Arabic text in the Corpus, a pseudo-Galenic commentary on Hippocrates' De septimanis (Περὶ ἑβδομάδων)[14]. Paul Kraus (1904-1944)[15] and Richard Walzer (1900-1975)[16], two eminent Jewish

11. J. Kollesch, *Hermann Diels in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte der antiken Medizin.* In: *Philologus* 117, 1973, pp. 278-283; the same, *Die Erschließung der antiken medizinischen Texte und ihre Probleme – das Corpus Medicorum Graecorum et Latinorum. Erreichtes und Geplantes.* In: *Gesnerus* 46, 1989, pp. 197-198.

12. H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte. Griechische Abteilung. I. Teil: Hippokrates und Galenos, II. Teil: Die übrigen griechischen Ärzte außer Hippokrates und Galenos,* Berlin 1905, 1906.

13. *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāk und seine Schule,* Leiden 1913; *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen,* ed. and transl., Leipzig 1925 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 17,2); *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie,* Leipzig 1932 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 19,2); about Bergsträsser cf. M. Meyerhof, *Gotthelf Bergsträsser.* In: *Isis* 25, 1936, pp. 60-61.

14. *Pseudogaleni in Hippocratis De septimanis commentarium ab Humaino q.f. Arabice versum,* Leipzig, Berlin 1914 (CMG XI 2,1).

15. G. Strohmaier, *Paul Kraus und die Ergorschung des Ǧābirkorpus.* In: *Tradition und Fortschritt in der medizin-historischen Arbeit des Berliner Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin,* ed. by D. Tutzke, Berlin 1980, pp. 74-79.

16. A. Bullock, *Richard Walzer.* In: *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition.*

scholars in Berlin, who followed Bergsträsser's lead, had to emigrate after the National Socialists came to power in 1933. Kraus and Walzer were thus prevented to co-operate with the Corpus and some important editions of the authentic Arabic Galen appeared in Italy, Egypt, and England[17].

After the war the Prussian Academy of Sciences with its buildings in the centre of Berlin became part of the Soviet sector and was called "German Academy of Sciences in Berlin", from 1972 "Academy of Sciences of the GDR". Under Prof. Konrad Schubring (1911-1966)[18], the then director of the Corpus, a Supplementum Orientale was attached to the series destined for the editions of those texts that are preserved only in Arabic and lost in Greek. Until now six texts have appeared in the Supplementum, Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' De officina medici (Κατ' ἰητρεῖον)[19], which is known in Greek only in a very defective manuscript tradition, De partibus artis medicativae (Περὶ τῶν τῆς ἰατρικῆς μερῶν), De causis contentivis (Περὶ τῶν συνεκτικῶν αἰτιῶν), De diaeta in morbis acutis secundum Hippocratem (Περὶ τῆς Ἱπποκράτους διαιτῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀξέων νοσημάτων)[20], De partium homoiomerium differentia (Περὶ τῆς τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν σωμάτων διαφορᾶς)[21], and De optimo medico cognoscendo (Fi l-miḥna allatī yu'rafu bihā afāḍil al-aṭibbā', Greek title unknown)[22]. Two further editions are in preparation, namely Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' De

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Essays presented to... R. Walzer, ed. by S.M. Stern, A. Hourani and V. Brown, Oxford 1972, pp. 1-3; cf. also A. Kleinknecht, *List of the Published Works of Richard Walzer,* ibid. pp. 5-16.

17. R. Walzer, *Galens Schrift "Über die Siebenmonatskinder".* In: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 13, 1935, pp. 323-357; P. Kraus, *Kitāb al-aḫlāq li-Ğālīnūs.* In: *Mağalla kullīyat al-adab bi-l-ğāmi'at al-miṣrīya* 5, 1937, pp. 1-51, cf. J.N. Mattock, *A Translation of the Arabic Epitome of Galen's Book Περὶ ἠθῶν.* In: *Islamic Philosophy...,* see note 16), pp. 235-260; Galen, *On medical experience,* ed. and transl. by R. Walzer, Oxford 1944; *Galeni Compendium Timaei Platonis aliorumque dialogorum synopsis quae extant fragmenta,* ed. by P. Kraus and R. Walzer, London 1951.

18. F. Kudlien, *In memoriam Konrad Schubring († 19. Juni 1966).* In: *Forschung, Praxis, Fortbildung* 17, 1966, pp. 549-550.

19. *Galeni In Hippocratis De officina medici comm.,* ed. and transl. by M. Lyons, Berlin 1963 (CMG, Supplementum Orientale I).

20. Galen, *On the parts of medicine, On cohesive causes, On regimen in acute diseases in accordance with the theories of Hippocrates,* ed. and transl. by M. Lyons, Berlin 1969 (CMG, Supplementum Orientale II).

21. Galen, *Über die Verschiedenheit der homoiomeren Körperteile,* ed. and transl. by G. Strohmaier, Berlin 1970 (CMG, Supplementum Orientale III).

22. Galen, *On examinations by which the best physicians are recognized,* ed. and transl. by A.Z. Iskandar, Berlin 1988 (CMG, Supplementum Orientale IV).

aere, aquis, locis (Περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων), and De anatomia mortuorum (Περὶ τεθνεώτων ἀνατομῆς). These editions are provided with a translation into a European language, usually the mother tongue of the editor.

The same decision was now taken also with regard to the main Greek series of the Corpus, where the reader now finds a translation into English, French, Italian or German conveniently printed in parallel to the Greek text[23]. This procedure, which was already intended by Hermann Diels, as I told at the beginning, has now a new significance with regard to the special needs of the arabist. Galen was, for mediaeval Muslim culture, an authority like Aristotle or Ptolemy, with even non-medical writers quoting him. To locate the quotations in their original context is still very difficult if not impossible if the arabist has not enough knowledge of Greek.

After the erection of the Berlin wall in 1961 Prof. Schubring, who lived in West Berlin, had to abandon his post at the academy, but we succeeded under the new direction of Dr. sc. Jutta Kollesch in maintaining the editorial program and the manyfold connections with our colleagues in West Germany and abroad. This was not always easy under the Communist regime, whose trustees at the academy were trying to use the very limited staff of the Corpus for other projects more amenable to Marxist ideology. Still more serious obstacles were the arbitrary travel restrictions which prevented us from presenting our projects on so many congresses we had been invited to participate. But now after the downfall of the Berlin wall and the Communist regime we are hopeful to enlarge our efforts in offering our modest contribution for a better understanding both of European and of Arabic-Islamic culture.

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23. J. Kollesch, *Die Erschließung...* (see note 11), pp. 200 and 203-207, cf. the same. *Hermann Diels...* (see note 11), pp. 280-281.

Speeches of Arab Leaders to their Warriors according to Byzantine Texts

The Byzantines' interest in and knowledge about Islam and the Arabs appears mainly in the works of religious polemic[1] and in the military treatises[2].

There exists, however, another group of texts, as well; those are the exhortative speeches, of the byzantine emperors and generals on the one hand and of the arab leaders on the other, as presented by byzantine writers. These are speeches addressed to the army, i.e. to that part of the population, which comes into direct contact with the enemy.

In order to strengthen the morale of their soldiers, the byzantine speakers have to present the enemy as inferior as possible, both as warriors and as members of an "inferior" religion. This effort becomes more evident – as far as it concerns the Arabs – in the two written

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1. E.g. Niketas Byzantios, Ioannes Damaskenus, Arethas of Caesarea, Letter of the emperor Leo III (or VI) to Omar (the caliph Omar II), etc. For more on this subject see Hans-Georg *Beck*, Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich, München 1959, pp. 338, 478, 530-531, 547-548, 593 etc. John *Meyendorff*, Byzantine Views on Islam; Dumbarton Oaks Papers 18 (1964), pp. 115-132. Gr. *Ziakas*, Greek Studies on Islam; Graeco-Arabica I (1982) pp. 149-156. Ast. *Argyriou*, Un "Roman de Mahomet" grec inédit; Graeco-Arabica II (1983) pp. 139-190. A.-Th. *Khoury*, Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe s.), Louvain-Paris 1969.

2. Λέοντος ΣΤ΄ "Τακτικά" (Leonis imperatoris "Tactica"); in J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, Paris 1857 ff., t. 107, col. 972-981, ch. XVIII.23, 109-142. Περί παραδρομῆς πολέμου (De velitatione bellica); recent editions: George *T. Dennis*, Three Byzantine Military Treatises, Washington 1985 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XXV), pp. 137-239. Gilbert *Dagron*, - Har. *Mihăescu*, Le traité sur la guérilla de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963-969), Paris 1986. See, also, Tax. *Kolias*, The "Tactica" of Leo VI the Wise and the Arabs; Graeco-Arabica 3 (1984), pp. 193-202.

speeches of Constantine VII[3], in those ascribed to Nikephoros Phokas[4], as well as in the examples for exhortations, contained in the "Tactics" of Leo VI[5] and in the "Περί παραδρομῆς πολέμου" (De velitatione bellica)[6]. The speakers frequently repeat contemptuous – some times insulting – designations for the enemies: they call them "impious", "fighters against Christ", "cowards", "ferocious" and so on. Leo the Wise emphasizes that the Saracens fight mainly for gain[7].

The purpose of the exhortations that the byzantine writers ascribe to the arab military leaders is the same. The historical or poetical works containing these speeches are destined to be read by byzantine people or to be recited (the poetical ones, especially the poem of Theodosius diaconus) before a byzantine audience. In these speeches, the writers, besides the usual exhortations (to readiness, bravery, self-sacrifice) common in every time and in every people, emphasize particularly those points that they believe characteristic of the religion and the mentality of the enemy[8].

The conflicts between Byzantium and the Arabs took place from the VIIth[9] to the end of the Xth century[10]. The texts that we are discussing –

3. The first speech is edited by H. *Ahrweiler,* Un discours inédit de Constantin Porphyrogénète; Travaux et Mémoires 2 (1967) pp. 393-404. The second one is edited by Rud. *Vári,* Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos; Byzantinische Zeitschrift 17 (1908) pp. 75-85.

4. Theodosii diaconi, De Creta capta, ed. H. *Criscuolo,* Lipsiae 1979, pp. 4-6 (v. 59-100), 17-18 (v. 412-438). Leonis diaconi, Historiae, ed. C.B. *Hase,* Bonnae 1828, pp. 12-13. Theophanis Continuatus, Chronographia, ed. Imm. *Bekker,* Bonnae 1838, p. 478; this last speech is based on an old one of Heraclius, who, of course, was not referring to Moslems (Theophanis, Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883, t. I p. 307$_{3-13}$ = Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi, ed. Ag. Pertusi, Ettal 1959, pp. 276-277).

5. Leonis "Tactica", XII.72 (P.G. 107 col. 828); the text has copied Nikephoros Ouranos in his "Tactic" (see in Leonis imperatoris, Tactica, ed. R. *Vári,* Budapestini 1922, t. II.1, pp. 60-61, § 71).

6. De velitatione, ch. 23 (ed. Dagron-Mihăescu p. 127); also, ch. 15 (p. 89).

7. Leonis "Tactica", XVIII.24,110,132,137 (P.G. 107 col. 952,972,977,980 respectively). See, also, *V. Christides,* Two parallel Naval Guides of the 10th century: Qudama's Document and Leo VI' Naumachica; Graeco-Arabica I (1982) p. 90. More on the byzantine exhortative speeches are contained in my still unpublished thesis on "The Psychological Preparation of the Byzantine Army (610-1081)".

8. *Meyendorff,* op.cit., p. 115. Also, Ahmad M. *Shboul,* Byzantium and the Arabs: The Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature; in "Byzantine Papers", Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra 1978, pp. 43-68.

9. First conflict: 629, near Μοθοί (Al-Moté), in Transjordania.

10. Expeditions of Basil II in Syria. But in Sicily, conflicts till the middle of the XI century.

very limited in number and in length – concern events of the IXth and Xth centuries and are written in the Xth and XIth centuries; no previous or later ones are known[11], at least to me.

1. The first mention belongs to Theophanes Continuatus and refers to *Abū Ḥafṣ* ('Απόχαψ in the byzantine sources), the conqueror of Crete (ca. 823-824). According to the writer, he characterizes the island as "the land, where honey and milk flow", and he promises his sailors that the cretan women and the children that they will have from them will take the place of the families they have left behind in Spain[12].

As for the last point, the Continuator is mistaken. Arabic sources inform us, that, in reality, Abū Ḥafṣ and his Andalusians came to Crete from Egypt, and not directly from Spain[13]; moreover, their families accompanied them[14].

2. The exhortations that Theophanes Continuatus ascribes to the emir of Melitene *Amer* (Omar al-Aqtà) before the battle at Lalacaon (863) have the usual encouraging content without any promises for rewards[15]; the expressions used here are antique-like, very probably copied from an older text.

3. On the contrary, *Esman,* emir of Tarsus, knew well – according to Theophanes Continuatus – that the majority of his warriors could even die for money[16]. So, while besieging the castle of Euripus (Chalkis) in Euboia (ca. 880), he emphasizes the concrete tangible rewards to be given to the first soldier to go over the walls: a large amount of money and a hundred beautiful virgins[17]. Esman is, very probably, the Yāzmān

11. Probably as a result of the so-called "big gap" of the byzantine historiography. *D. Zakythinos,* La "grande brèche" dans la tradition historique de l'Hellénisme du VIIème au IXème siècle; in Χαριστήριον εἰς 'Αν. 'Ορλάνδον, t. III, Athens 1966, pp. 300-324.

12. Theoph. Cont. pp. 74-76 (and p. 622 = Pseudo-Symeon magister) = Genesius (ed. A. Lesmueller-Werner - I. Thurn, Berlin-New York 1978) p. 33 = Skylitzes (ed. I. Thurn, Berlin-New York 1973) p. 42-43 = Zonaras, III, Bonnae 1897, p. 348. Speaking of "the land, where honey and milk flow", Abū Ḥafṣ (or rather the Continuator) presents Crete as the Promised Land of the Old Testament (Exod. 3.8; Lev. 20.24; Deut. 6.3, 27.3; etc.). See Appendix.

13. Vass. *Christides,* The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824); a Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam, Athens 1984, pp. 83-91. *Αἰκ. Χριστοφιλοπούλου,* Βυζαντινή Ἱστορία, Β'1 (610-867), 'Αθῆναι 1981, pp. 198-200.

14. *Christides,* The Conquest, pp. 89-90.

15. Theoph. Cont. p. 182 = Skylitzes p. 100.$_{42-44}$. Genesius p. 68. About Amer (Omar al-Aqtà) see *G. Veloudis,* Das Armurislied und Omar al-Aqtà; Byzantinische Zeitschrift 58 (1965) p. 313-319. *Χριστοφιλοπούλου,* op. cit., Β'1, pp. 206-207, 216-217. See Appendix.

16. Theoph. Cont. p. 298.$_{20-21}$ = Skyl. p. 151.$_{44-45}$. See, also, above, n. 7.

17. Theop. Cont. p. 298.$_{21}$-299.$_{1}$ = Skyl. p. 151.$_{45}$-152.$_{48}$. See Appendix.

(Yāzamān) of the arab historians[18].

4. The next arab leader to encourage his troops is – according to Skylitzes – *Abulharé,* "emir of the Saracens". In Calabria, before the battle against a byzantine military force (under Paschalios the general of the country, the patrician Malakenos and the admiral Makroioannes), sent by Constantine VII, Abulharé reminds his soldiers of the disasters caused to the Arabs of the country by the byzantine army, and urges them to defeat the enemy. The battle took place at Gerace (7 May 952) and the result was an arab victory[19].

But who was Abulharé? He was al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Ḥusayn al-Kalbī, whom the third Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr appointed (948) as governor over Sicily, the first of the Kalbite emirs of the island[20]. The form Abulharé – 'Αβουλχαρέ (with an "r" instead of an "s") is obviously due to a mistake in copying the original manuscript of the text; it is not very difficult to confuse a "σ" with a "ρ"[21]. In another text, older than that of Skylitzes, the name has been written clearly as "Βουλχασένης" instead of 'Αβουλχαρέ[22]. I believe, that Skylitzes himself had written

18. *A.A. Vasiliev,* Byzance et les Arabes, t. II.1, Bruxelles 1968, p. 56. *Χριστοφιλοπούλου,* op. cit. Β'2, p. 31 n. 5. *M. Canard,* Quelques "à côté" de l'histoire des relations entre Byzance et les Arabes. "Studi medievali in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida", Roma 1956 (= *M. Canard,* Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient; Variorum Reprints, London 1973, No. XV), p. 111.

19. Skyl. p. 266 (see Appendix). *Vasiliev,* op. cit., II.1 pp. 366-368. *J. Gay,* L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin (867-1071), Athènes-Rome 1904, pp. 213-214, 345. Ekk. *Eickhoff,* Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland, Berlin 1966, pp. 321-322. *M. Amari,* Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, Catania 1935, t. II pp. 280-282. Ag. *Pertusi,* Byzantino-Sicula II, Misc. in mem. di G. Rossi Taibbi, Palermo 1975, pp. 434, 438. Vera von *Falkenhausen,* La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo, Bari 1978, pp. 82-83 (Nos. 18, 19), 103-104 (No. 72), 137. *R. Devréesse,* Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale; Città del Vaticano 1955 (Studi e Testi, 183), p. 9 n. 2.

20. Ibn al-Atīr, VIII.371: *Vasiliev,* op. cit., t. II (La dynastie macédonienne, 867-959), 2ème partie: Extraits des sources arabes, traduits par *M. Canard,* Bruxelles 1950, pp. 160-161. Encyclopédie de l'Islam, art. "Fāṭimides" *(M. Canard),* "al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh, Ismā-'īl" *(F. Dachraoui),* "Kalbides" *(U. Rizzitano).* Philip K. *Hitti,* History of the Arabs, London 1943, p. 606. *M. Canard,* Quelques notes relatives à la Sicile sous les premiers califes Fatimites; "Studi Medievali in onore di Antonino De Stefano, Palermo 1956 (= *M. Canard,* L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions; Variorum Reprints, London 1974, No. IV) p. 573. *Eickhoff,* op. cit., p. 320. Aziz *Ahmad,* A History of Islamic Sicily, Edinburgh 1975, pp. 27-28, 33-34.

21. Very probably, the manuscript has been copied in South Italy. I don't agree with V.v. Falkenhausen (op. cit., p. 99 No. 56), that "Abulharé" is the greek form of the name al-Ḥasan; on the contrary, the greek form of the name is Βουλχασένης. See next notes.

22. Chronicon Siculo-Saracenum (known also as Chronicle of Cambridge); cod. Vaticanus graecus 1912, written between 988-1031, ff. 4-6v; ed. by Peter *Schreiner,* Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, t. I, Wien 1975, p. 338 (No 50). See, also, *Amari,* op. cit., p. 282 n. 2. *Vasiliev,* op. cit., II.2, p. 101.

"'Αβουλχασέ"[23].

5. Longer than the previous ones are the two speeches contained in the poem of Theodosius diaconus on the reconquest of Crete by Nikephoros Phokas (961).

The first speech is that of the emir of Crete, called by the Byzantines *Kurupàs, Kurúpis* etc. The arab sources call him Abd-el-Aziz ben 'Umar ben Shu' aib el Kotorbi or simply Abd-el-Aziz[24]. Theodosius diaconus considers him, because of his "honey-sweet speeches", superior to the homeric Nestor[25]. Kurupàs speaks, at first, to the aged dignitaries that he has invited to council; he tries to communicate his enthusiasm to them, and he gives them the necessary practical advice[26]. Seeing, however, their hesitancy, he addresses a brief speech to the soldiers; in this, besides the exhortations, common in all speeches of this kind – i.e. the invitation to the "joy" of the battle, and the appeal to defend "children, wives, friends, and the homeland", and to ignore the danger – he promises them, that, if they fall in battle, they will be saved in paradise, where, according to the Prophet, "torrents of milk, honey, and wine flow". If, however, in spite of all these promises, they still hesitate, then, they will meet death, by the hand of their own companions[27]. Theodosius diaconus contrasts the emir's promises with those ascribed to Nikephoros Phokas, according to which, he who falls fighting against the "insulter barbarians", "will rise victorious from the soil", and his family will be protected by the emperor[28].

6. The last known speaker is the "bloody" *Karamuntis,* probably the leader of a local military force[29]; besides the usual encouraging words,

23. Or, maybe, he had confused al-Ḥasan's name with that of his (Skylitzes's) contemporary 'Αμβουλχαρέ (of arabic origin?) duke ("catepano") of Italy (1063/64-1067/68). Skylitzes Continuatus (ed. Εὐδ. Τσολάκης, Thessaloniki 1968) p. 168.19.24. *Gay,* op. cit., pp. 533-534. V.v. *Falkenhausen,* op. cit., pp. 99 (No 56), 114.

24. Νικ. Μ. *Παναγιωτάκης,* Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος καί τό ποίημα αὐτοῦ "Ἅλωσις τῆς Κρήτης", Ἡράκλειον 1960, p. 68 n. 211: Kurúpis or Kurupás derives from the arabic El Kotorbi (or El Kortobi, i.e. "from Cordoba").

25. Theod. diac., vv. 353-356.

26. Theod. diac., vv. 361-379.

27. Theod. diac., vv. 384-399. As for the "torrents of milk, honey, and wine", Theodosius has in mind the Qurran XLVII. 66 etc. (Criscuolo p. 16); cf. above, n. 10. See Appendix.

28. Theod. diac., vv. 86-96.

29. Theod. diac., vv. 810-816. *Παναγιωτάκης,* op. cit., pp. 72-74.

he guarantees his warriors their salvation on condition that they attack the enemy[30].

7. The speech of Karamuntis is followed by the warm *response of his men* and their decision to die if necessary[31]. We cannot be sure whether this response was a real fact or was invented by Theodosius diaconus having in mind what was the usual practice among the byzantine troops[32].

8. Theodosius diaconus gives us also a number of "arabic" words, transcribed into greek:

"Σεήπφ ἐχειμάτ ἰσχαρόπ καί τήν ράσαν
σερμήτ μιδήνη καί χαήτ ἰπφησάνη"[33].

He claims that this is the warcry of the arab population of Handax, while suffering the siege and the attacks of Nikephoros Phokas. The till now publishers of the text state, that, in spite of asking Arabs and other specialists, the translation of the above passage is quite impossible, with the possible exception of three or four words[34]. More recently, other scholars have tried to find out the meaning of this text. N. Oikonomakis gives the following, unsatisfactory translation: "The dark-skinned defenders cut off, in the battles, the heads of my fellow-citizens; (and) the wall falls down"[35]. Better grounded and more convincing is the interpretation that N. Serikoff gives for the first verse of the text: "Oh, Ahmad's (ἐχειμάτ) sword (σεήπφ)! Crack (ἰσχαρόπ) the head (καί τήν ράσαν)". With the word "head" is meant either the advance-guard of the enemy or their general[36].

CONCLUSIONS

As we see, the exhortations are mostly the usual ones. As for the

30. Theod. diac., vv. 823-830. It is not clear whether the "salvation" (v. 825) is meant to come in this life, on the earth, or in the future one, in heaven. See Appendix.

31. Theod. diac., vv. 831-834. See Appendix.

32. Cf., e.g., Leo diac., pp. 13, 21-22 (response of the soldiers to Nikephoros and to Leon Phocas, respectively).

33. Theod. diac., vv. 349-350.

34. *Criscuolo,* op. cit., p. 14. *Παναγιωτάκης,* op. cit., p. 144.

35. Νικ. Έμμ. *Οἰκονομάκης,* Οἱ ἀραβικοί στίχοι τοῦ ποιήματος τοῦ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Διακόνου "Ἅλωσις της Κρήτης"; "Κρητολογία" 16-19 (Jan. 1983-Dec. 1984), pp. 81-97; the translation: p. 97.

36. Nich. I. *Serikoff,* Theodosius Diaconus, De Creta capta; ed. H. Criscuolo. Critical book-review, in "Vizantijskij Vremennik" 43 (1982) pp. 259-262; the translation of the above verse: p. 260 n. 6.

rewards earthly enjoyments are mentioned in two cases (Abū Ḥafṣ, Esman). Only in one case the speaker (Kurúpis), following the words of the Prophet, promises a happy life after death, in heaven. The poet Theodosius diaconus, as a man of the Church, seems to be more interested in the contents of the Qurran[37].

It is noteworthy, that – in contrast with the speeches ascribed to byzantine speakers – in none of the above cases an allusion is contained to the "infidel" Christians and their religion[38].

KATERINA KARAPLI

37. See, also, *Παναγιωτάκης,* op. cit., p. 9.

38. Cf. above, first page of the present article.

APPENDIX

1. Abu Ḥafṣ:
καταμαθὼν τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν, καὶ πῶς εἴη πρὸς πᾶσαν χάριν καὶ ἀγαθῶν εὔφορος ἀφθονίαν, "τοῦτο" ἔφη "γῆ οὐκ ἄλλη ἢ ἡ ῥέουσα μέλι καὶ γάλα." ... ὡς δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐμέμνηντο καὶ παίδων οὐκ ὀλιγώρουν, "καὶ γυναῖκες" ἔφη "ὧδε ὑμέτεραι αἱ αἰχμαλωτιζόμεναι, καὶ παῖδες οὐ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν."

(Theoph. Cont. pp. 74-76).

2. Amer:
"ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἀποκνητέον" φησίν, "ἀλλὰ διεγερτέον καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὔριον γενησόμενον πόλεμον ἀνδριστέον." καὶ ἅμα ὁπλίζεσθαι πάντας καὶ νεόσμηκτα δεικνύειν ὡς νεουργὰ τὰ ξίφη ἐκέλευσεν.

(Theoph. Cont. p. 182).

3. Esman:
ἀπορῶν οὖν καὶ δυσθυμῶν ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ εἰδὼς ἐφέσει χρημάτων ἑκόντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας, ἀσπίδα μεγάλην πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος θεὶς καὶ χρυσίου ταύτην πεπληρωκὼς "τοῦτο γέρας" ἔφη "καὶ ἀριστεῖον ἐγὼ δίδωμι, μετὰ καὶ παρθένων ἐπιλέκτων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑκατὸν, τῷ πρώτως ἐπιβάντι τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις βραβεύσαντι τὸ νικᾶν".

(Theoph. Cont. pp. 298-299).

4. Abulharé
...ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀμηρᾶς Ἀβουλχαρέ ... καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαρρύνας καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆναι παραινέσας στρατὸν τοιαῦτα εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐνδεικνύμενον τὰ κακὰ, πόλεμον ὑπαντιάσας συνίστησι κραταιὸν καὶ νίκην ἤρατο ἀρίστην τε καὶ καλλίστην.

(Skyl. p. 266.37-41).

5. Kurúpis:
ἦν οὖν ἐκείνων ὁ κρατῶν στρατηγίας
γέρων ἀμηρᾶς ......
...... τὸν ἐκ Πύλου
γέροντα νικῶν ἐν μελιρρύτοις λόγοις·
....
'βουλὴν δὲ ποιεῖ' καὶ καλεῖ τοὺς 'ἐν χρόνῳ'
ὁμοστόλους γέροντας ἐν συνεδρίῳ.

Ἐκεῖ καθεσθεὶς καὶ 'στενάξας ἐκ βάθους',
'φωνὴν ἀφῆκε' τοῖς πόνοις μεμιγμένην·
«Τίς, ἄνδρες, ὑμῶν πῦρ ἔχει τῇ καρδίᾳ
καῖον, φλογίζον ὡς ἐμὲ φλέγει φάλαγξ
Ῥώμης κλονοῦσα τὴν ἐμὴν τοπαρχίαν;
τίνος τὰ τέκνα τὴν τελευταίαν βλάβην
ἐκ τῆς σπάθης εἴληφε τῆς τεθηγμένης;
τίνος τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκβιβρώσκεται ζέον
τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθόν, ἡ 'πικρὰ τιμωρία';
ἐκεῖνος ἡμῖν ἄρτι συμβουλευέτω,
γνώμην διδοὺς ἄριστον ἀντὶ τοῦ σθένους.
ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, στήσωμεν ἄνδρας ἱππότας
τρὶς ἑπτὰ τοῖς βάλλουσι πεντηκοντάδας·
ἔπειτα πεζῶν ἑξάδας τρισμυρίους,
πάντας σιδηροῦς, εἰς θέαν μελαγχρόους,
ὡς ἂν καταπλήξωσι τοὺς ἐναντίους,
φανέντες αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν 'παρ' ἐλπίδα'.»
....
εἰδὼς δὲ πάντας εἰς ὁδοὺς δειλανδρίας
ὁμοῦ βαδίζειν ἢ σφαγῆς αἱρουμένους,
σταθεὶς παρώρμα τοὺς κακοὺς παρεργάτας·
«Ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ σπεύσωμεν, ἄνδρες ἱππόται,
τῆς νῦν φανείσης μυριοξίφου μάχης.
ἴωμεν εἰς μάχαιραν ἀντὶ τῶν τέκνων,
ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ πατρίδος.
μηδεὶς φοβείσθω τὰς 'τομὰς' τῶν 'φασγάνων'·
εἰ γὰρ θάνῃ τις, σώζεται παραυτίκα
καὶ ζῶν πορευθῇ καὶ λάβῃ κατοικίαν,
ὅπου προφήτης οἶδε χειμάρρους λέγειν
γάλακτος, ἐκ μέλιτος, ἐξ οἴνου ῥέειν.
εἰ δ' αὖ δεδοικὼς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων θάνῃ,
τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τοὺς λόγους παραδράμῃ,
θνήξει παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ μεταστὰς τοῦ σκότους
τὴν ἀπρόοπτον δέξεται τιμωρίαν.»
οὕτω παραινῶν καὶ παρορμῶν 'εἰς μάχην',
προωδοποίει τὴν σφαγὴν τοῖς ἀξίοις.

(Theod. diac. vv. 353-401).

6. Karamúntis:
ὁ Καραμούντης, ὁ σφαγίπλουτος γέρων,
....
σταθεὶς παρήνει καὶ παρώρμα πρὸς ξίφη,

. . . .

τοιαῦτα φωνῶν καὶ βοῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις·
«Πολλὴ μὲν ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες, ἐστὶν ἡ βία,
'πολὺς ταραγμὸς' καὶ καταιγὶς καὶ πόνος,
ἀλλ' 'ἔστιν' ἡμῖν θᾶττον ἡ 'σωτηρία',
μόνον θέλωμεν, χερσὶν ἐξευρημένη.
βῶμεν πρὸς ἐχθρούς, μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ξίφη,
στῶμεν κατ' αὐτῶν, μὴ πτοηθῶμεν δόρυ,
καὶ πάντας εἰς θάλατταν ἐξωθηκότες,
τρόπαιον ὧδε στήσομεν λαοκτόνον.»

(Theod. diac. vv. 811-830).

7. The soldiers:

καὶ πάντες εὐθὺς εἶπον ὥσπερ ἓν στόμα
«Θάνωμεν, εἰ δεῖ, σήμερον πατρῶν ἅμα,
σὺ δὲ πρόθυμον, ὡς ἐνὸν, πᾶσιν δίδου·
σὺ γὰρ πατὴρ καὶ πύργος ἡμῶν ἐν μάχαις.»

(Theod. diac. vv. 831-834).

Un nouveau manuscrit de la version arabe de la "Materia Medica" de Dioscoride

Il y a quelques années, pendant que je consultais le catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la "Colección Gayangos" mon attention a été attirée par la description du manuscrit n° CL. E. Terés ("Los códices árabes de la 'Colección Gayangos'", *Al-Andalus* 40 (1975) 1-52) le décrivait (p. 22 et 44) de la façon suivante: "Obra de fármacos: Texto muy abreviado y falto; lleva ilustraciones muy toscas y tiene un carácter de letra occidental como el de los moriscos. El copista además incurre en faltas de ortografía que reflejan el árabe dialectal hispánico".

Une pareille description suggérait que l'ouvrage avait un intérêt pas seulement pharmacologique mais aussi linguistique; elle laissait supposer qu'on pourrait y trouver des matériaux pour l'étude du dialecte hispanoarabe dans sa dernière période d'existence.

Et puisque je me suis toujours interessée à ces deux aspects de la culture de l'Espagne musulmane – c'est à dire: l'histoire des sciences et l'histoire de l'arabe hispanique – j'ai tout de suite décidé d'étudier ce manuscrit.

Mon maître, le Prof. Juan Vernet, non seulement s'occupa d'obtenir pour moi une permission pour que je puisse accéder au manuscrit, (qui se trouve maintenant à la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid) mais aussi me fit cadeau du microfilm. Je veux lui manifester ici toute ma gratitude.

Quand j'ai reçu le microfilm, j'ai constaté qu'il s'agissait d'une copie partielle de la version arabe du livre de Dioscoride sur la *materia medica.* Ce n'est pas maintenant le moment d'insister sur l'importance de cet auteur et de son ouvrage. Il nous suffira de rappeler l'article que lui a consacré C. Dubler dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (2e ed. II, 359) et où on peut lire:

"(Dioscoride) est, après Galien, le médecin le plus cité par les

Musulmans. Son περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς, considéré déjà par Galien comme un manuel définitif de *materia medica,* et qui a été le fondement de la pharmacologie musulmane, est connu en arabe sous différents noms: *Ḥayūlā 'ilāŷ al-ṭibb, Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* et *Kitāb al-ḥašā'iš.* C'est une première traduction du grec en syriaque qui servit de base à la version arabe, exécutée, avec le texte original sous les yeux, par Iṣṭifān b. Basīl et corrigée par Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, à Bagdād, au IIIe/IXee siècle; ce fut la seule traduction complète faite dans le monde musulman". (Sur Dioscoride dans le monde arabe *cf.* aussi F. Sezgin: *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums,* III, 58-60).

Cette version arabe a été l'object de nombreuses études, commentaires et additions par les auteurs arabes. Les traductions occidentales de cette version arabe se sont multipliées, et ont constitué jusqu'au XVIe siècle la base des connaissances pharmacologiques de l'Europe occidentale (Cf. C. Dubler: *La "Materia Medica" de Dioscórides, transmisión medieval y renacentista* I et II. Barcelona, 1953-1957).

Plusieurs manuscrits de la version arabe du traité de *materia medica* de Dioscoride sont arrivés jusqu'à nos jours. Cependant il y a encore, dans l'édition de l'ouvrage, des lacunes, des passages obscurs, et des lectures douteuses, voire fautives. Notre copie, ainsi que d'autres qu'on pourra découvrir dans le futur, peuvent contribuer à l'établissement définitif du texte.

C'est à l'occasion de la Congrès sur les relations culturelles gréco-arabes que j'ai cru opportun de présenter l'identification de cette nouvelle copie de la version arabe de Dioscoride: un ouvrage qui présente d'une façon paradigmatique l'assimilation par la culture arabe de la culture hellénique.

Description du manuscrit

Tel qu'il est arrivé jusqu'à nous, le volume – qui semble être acéphale – comprend 64 feuilles, avec un maximum de 25 lignes par page. Dans sa grande majorité, pourtant, le nombre de lignes est inférieur car on a introduit des esquisses de plantes et d'animaux pour illustrer le texte (voir figure).

Ces esquisses, très schématiques et réalisées avec des traits assez rapides, sont grossiers: on pourrait difficilement reconnaitre ce qu'ils représentent si on n'avait pas le texte à côté. Exceptionnellement, deux dessins, présentant un crabe (f.5r.) et des radis (f.63r.), s'approchet

quelque peu de la réalité. En tout cas, il paraît évident que la copie a été réalisée à partir d'un manuscrit illuminé. Evidemment on ne peut pas savoir si la basse qualité des dessins est due à l'inhabilité du copiste ou à la rapidité avec laquelle il a effectué la copie, sans s'attarder dans des détails qui lui paraissaient peut-être secondaires.

Au f.64v. il y a une annotation, qui ne semble pas être de la même main que le reste, où on indique que notre manuscrit a été copié d'un exemplaire ancien qui datait de Ṣafar 338 (août 949). Mais on ne signale ni le lieu ni la date de notre copie, ni le nom de celui qui l'a effectuée.

L'écriture est de type maghrebin. Il suffit cependant d'un coup d'oeil pour apprécier que la calligraphie n'a pas été soignée.

Les pages portent une numeration en lettres arabes vraisemblablement de la même main que le texte – au centre de chaque *folio recto* (on trouve par erreur 35, 26, 27, 38, 39...). Chaque *folio* porte aussi sur l'angle exterieur du *recto* un chiffre imprimé à la machine, près d'un numéro écrit à la main en caractères occidentaux. Le *folio* 24 a été relié en position renversée, avec une feuille, sans numéro, qui se trouve en blanc d'un côté et porte cinq lignes d'écriture de l'autre.

Contenu du manuscrit

Notre manuscrit est une copie des livres I et II du *Traité des simples* de Dioscoride. Pourtant, si on compare son texte avec le texte édité (C.E. Dubler/E. Terés: *La versión árabe de la "Materia Medica" de Dioscórides. Texto, variantes e índices.* Tetuán-Barcelona, 1952-1957) on peut apprécier certaines différences, notamment:

1. Pour que les livres I et II soient complets, manquent dans notre manuscrit les chapitres suivants:

I, 1, 26-52, 83, 86, 100, 101, 111, 112, 114, 116-119, 121-133, 141, 146-147.

II, 1, 13, 21-26, 28-74, 88-101, 104, 108-109, 111, 114-135, 138-170, 179-185.

2. L'ordre des chapitres n'est pas le même dans notre manuscrit et dans le texte édité. J'ai établi la table d'équivalences suivantes:

folio	*chapitre*	*folio*	*chapitre*	*folio*	*chapitre*	*folio*	*chapitre*
1 v.	I,120	13 v.	I,19	37 r.	I,72	54 v.	II,174
2 r.	II,137	14 r.	I,20	38 r.	I,73	55 r.	II,175
2 v.	I,135	14 r.	I,21	38 r.	I,74	55 v.	II,176
2 v.	I,134	14 v.	I,22	38 v.	I,75	55 v.	II,177

2 v.	I,85	14 v.	I,23	39 r.	I,76	55 v.	II,178
3 r.	I,135	15 r.	I,24	39 r.	I,77	56 v.	I,136
3 r.	II,2	15 r.	I,25	39 v.	I,78	56 v.	I,137
3 r.	II,3	15 v.	II,75	40 r.	I,79	57 r.	I,138
3 v.	II,4	16 r.	II,76	40 v.	I,80	57 r.	I,139
3 v.	II,5	16 v.	II,76b	41 r.	I,81	57 v.	I,140
3 v.	II,6	19 r.	II,77	41 r.	I,82	57 v.	I,142
3 v.	II,7	21 v.	II,78	41 v.	I,53	58 r.	I,143
4 r.	II,8	22 r.	II,79	41 v.	I,54	58 v.	I,144
4 r.	II,9	23 r.	II,80	42 r.	I,55	59 r.	I,145
4 v.	II,10	23 r.	II,81	42 v.	I,84	60 r.	I,32
5 r.	II,11	23 v.	II,82	43 r.	I,85	60 r.	II,27
5 r.	II,12	23 v.	I,115	43 r.	I,87	60 r.-v.	I,25
5 r.	II,14	26 r.	II,83	43 v.	I,88	60 v.	I,112
5 r.	II,15	26 v.	II,87	43 v.	I,89	60 v.	II,102
5 r.	II,16	27 r.	II,88	44 r.	I,90	61 r.	II,103
5 v.	II,17	27 r.	II,84	44 r.	I,91	61 v.	II,105
5 v.	II,18	27 r.	II,85	44 v.	I,92	62 r.	II,106
5 v.	II,19	27 v.	II,86	45 r.	I,93	62 v.	II,107
5 v.-6 r.	II,20	27 v.	II,87	45 r.	I,94	62 v.	II,110
6 r.-v.	I,2	27 v.	I,55	45 v.	I,95	63 r.	II,112
6 v.	I,3	27 v.	I,56	45 v.	I,96	64 r.	I,113
7 r.	I,4	28 r.	I,57	46 r.	I,97	64 v.	II,136
7 v.	I,5	28 v.	I,58	46 v.	I,98		
8 r.	I,6	28 v.	I,59	46 v.	I,99		
9 r.	I,7	28 v.	I,60	47 r.	I,109		
9 r.	I,8	30 r.	I,61	47 r.	I,110		
9 v.	I,9	31 r.	I,62	47 v.	I,102		
9 v.	I,10	31 v.	I,63	48 r.	I,103		
10 r.	I,11	33 r.	I,64	48 v.	I,104		
10 v.	I,12	33 r.-v.	I,65	50 r.	I,105		
11 r.	I,13	33 v.	I,66	51 r.	I,106		
11 r.-v.	I,14	34 r.	I,67	51 v.	I,107		
11 v.	I,15	34 v.	I,68	53 r.	I,108		
12 r.	I,16	35 r.	I,69	53 v.	II,171		
13 v.	I,17	35 r.	I,70	53 v.	II,172		
13 v.	I,18	36 r.	I,71	54 v.	II,173		

3. Le texte sur chaque simple est beaucoup plus bref dans notre manuscrit que dans celui édité. Ceci peut être dû au fait que le scribe a

copié seulement ce qui l'intéressait, en laissant tomber le reste; mais on peut penser aussi que le texte édité a incorporé des gloses marginales qui n'appartenaient pas au livre original; c'est un aspect qu'il faudra étudier en détail.

4. Dans notre manuscrit il y a aussi des fragments qui ne se trouvent pas dans le texte édité. Il s'agit presque toujours du degré galénique des simples. Mais il y a aussi quelques autres additions référant que, dans "une autre copie", on trouve telle ou telle donnée, ou même que, dans "une autre copie grecque", on peut trouver une certaine lecture.

Au f.48r. on cite le livre de Abū Mūsà *(fī kitāb Abī Mūsà)* et au 61r. un certain Ibn Munḥās *(qāla Ibn Munḥās),* personnages que je n'ai pas identifiés.

5. Notre manuscrit, finalement, offre dans certains cas des lectures meilleures que celles du texte édité. En d'autres occasions, il complète des fragments que les éditeurs ont laissé en blanc.

Analyse linguistique

La description du manuscrit laissait supposer – nous l'avons déjà vu – son interêt du point de vue linguistique, notamment pour l'étude du dialecte hispano-arabe. De sa lecture j'extrais les caractéristiques suivantes:

D'une façon générale, le *ductus* consonantique a été copié correctement, à l'exception des noms grecs des médicaments où le scribe, ne les connaissant pas, a confondu assez souvent *wāw, dāl et rā'* ou *fā', qāf* et *gayn.*

Il y a aussi deux cas de *tuẓumidda* (39v., 7v.) pour *tuḍummida,* avec confusion de *ẓ* et *ḍ* mais ce mot a été écrit correctement maintes fois dans toute l'oeuvre.

Les points diacritiques n'ont pas toujours été bien placés: *zayt* peut devenir *zabīb,* ou à l'inverse, etc.

On peut signaler le cas du mot *fa'rafūrā* (II,4) qui se trouve avec les deux *fā'* ponctuées à l'orientale (et qu'il faudrait donc lire comme deux *qāf).* Ceci mène à supçonner que le manuscrit qui servit de base pour notre copie était oriental (mais il pourrait aussi s'agir simplement d'une autre erreur de transmission des noms grecs).

La *hamza* a été omise parfois.

La *šadda* est employée de façon irregulière et souvent incorrecte. Parfois elle manque là où l'arabe classique la demande: 11r. *qawiya* ou 10r. *al-salīja.* En d'autres occasions, elle est en plus: 1v. *l-mutassāqiṭ;*

10v. *ḍumidda;* 9r., 10r., 12r., 13v., 49r., *ṣiffa; 13r., 14r., 15v., 18v., famm;* 14r. *al-ŷanibbi;* 17v. *aḥbbabta;* 17v. *il-assi;* 51r. *yanbbagī;* 50r. *quribba.* Ou même elle a été placée incorrectement: on trouve partout *tuḍumidda.* Mais elle a été soigneusement marquée après *tanwīn* ou /an/ (21v.), sur tout mot commençant par *wāw, mīm, nūn, rā'* et *yā'.*

Le texte est totallement vocalisé. Les voyelles, ainsi que le reste des signes auxiliers, desquels l'original manquait sans doute, furent probablement ajoutés par le copiste.

Les confusions dans la quantité vocalique sont très rares. On peut signaler 1v., 52r. *aswād;* 5r. *sarāṭān;* 17v. *abyāḍ.*

La manque de familiarité du copiste avec les règles de l'arabe classique fait que les incorrections dans l'*i'rāb* sont constantes: on a écrit le *sukūn* sur la dernière consonne au lieu de la voyelle brève pertinente: 1v. *nafa';* 2v. *ṯa'lab;* 5v. *arnab;* 10v. *yuḥallilhā;* on une voyelle qui n'est pas celle exigèe par la syntaxe: 1v. *yaṣbagu-š-ša'ri;* 1v. ṭabju-l-waraqu; 5v. *ukila dimāgahu.*

Il y a aussi des mots et des formes morphologiques dont la vocalisation diffère de celle employée en arabe classique. Elles ont pour cette raison un intérêt tout particulier, puisque son analyse peut aider à déterminer la provenance du manuscrit. Je ne tiens pas compte des termes inusuels, dont la vocalisation anomale pourrait etre dûe simplement à son ignorance par le copiste.

Signalons les formes verbales non-agentives: 5r. *abtuli'at;* 5v., 52v. *aḥtumila;* 63r. *astu'mila.*

Parmis les noms, j'ai noté: *passim mi'da;* 1v. *ṯamr;* 34v., 36r., 45v. *tamra;* 34v., 35v., 36r. *tamr;* 2v. *aŷāṣ;* 2v. *Damašq;* 3r. *ganfud;* 8r.-v. *sunbal;* 9r., 6v., 14r. *kabad;* 7r. *aḏjar;* 7r. *šabṯ;* 10r. *ad-dāra ṣanī;* 12v., 47r., 52r. *fulfal;* 13v., 59v., 64r. *bullūṭ;* 16v., 64v. *wasj;* 15v. *ṣunūbar;* 18r., 18v., 19v. *diŷāŷ;* 46r., 46v. *'awsiŷ;* 47r., 49r.-v. *diwā';* 47r. *ŷald;* 54v., 60r. *malḥ;* 61r. *kittān;* 61v., 64r. *passim, ṭamaṯ;* 63r. *fuŷl;* 26r., 26v., 27r. *ḥanṭa.*

La comparaison de ces vocalisations non-classiques avec celles qu'offrent le *Vocabulista in arabico* (ed. C. Schiaparelli, Firenze, 1871), le *Vocabulario* de Pedro de Alcalá (ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen, 1883 repr. Osnabrük 1971) et d'autres dictionnaires des dialectes nord-africains devrait permettre de se prononcer, au moins, sur l'origine hispanique ou non du manuscrit.

Les coïncidences observées avec les vocalisations de Pedro de Alcalá sont nombreuses: 246 *estómago=mĭĕde;* 255 *fruto de cada cosa=čamara; fruto=čámra;* 238 *erizo=canfút;* 350 *pimienta=fúlfel;* 115 *bellota=bollóta, bollót;* 350 *pino=çonóbra, çonóbar, çunúbar;* 259

gallina=digíja, digíg; 309 *medicina=diguí;* 349 *piel=jeld;* 391 *sal=malh;* 294 *lino=quittín, quitín;* 375 *rávano=fúxla, fúgel.*

Quelques unes de ces vocalisations, en outre, se justifient par les phénomènes morphophonétiques attestés en hispano-arabe dans le livre de F. Corriente: *A grammatical sketch of the spanish arabic dialect bundle* (Madrid, 1977). Selon §5.1.3. [1i23]/[1a23] phénomène dont nous avons les exemples *ŷald, malḥ* et *ḥanṭa;* §5.1.7. indique que le dialecte hispano-arabe rentre dans le groupe de dialectes où [1a2i3]/[1a/i23] ce qui explique notre *mi'da;* §4.1.5 signale, parmi plusieurs exemples d'armonisation vocalique en hispano-arabe, notre *bullūṭ;* selon §5.1.15 ce dialecte, face à l'arabe classique, et comme d'autres dialectes arabes et langues sémitiques, ne montre pas d'armonisation vocalique dans les noms quadriconsonantiques: c'est le cas de nos *sunbal, qanfud* et *fulfal;* §1.4.3/4 cite parmi les exemples de monoptongation notre *ṣunūbar.*

On peut déduire de tout cela que notre manuscrit *peut* être hispanique. Mais il manque de montrer qu'il ne peut pas s'agir d'une autre variante dialecticale proche (marocain, algérien, tunisien). Il faut encore démontrer que nous n'avons à faire avec des vocalisations et des phénomènes communs à l'ensemble des dialectes arabes occidentaux. On ne pourrait alors – à partir de ces données linguistiques — établir définitivement quelle est la variante dialectale qui afflore dans ces vocalisations non-classiques, et par conséquence d'où provient la copie.

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L'édition arabo-grecque de la *Géographie* d'Aboulféda par Dimitrios Alexandridis (1807) et sa 'fortune' au début du XIXe siècle

Le sujet que nous abordons dans la présente communication nous permettra tout d'abord – et c'est là un point crucial, nous semble-t-il, pour l'orientation des recherches de comparatisme littéraire visant le XVIIIe siècle ainsi que le début du XIXe – d'établir un point de jonction entre le mouvement grec des Lumières et l'intérêt éprouvé et manifesté quant à l'approche scientifique de l'Orient, c'est-à-dire la genèse de la notion d'*orientalisme*[1], en corrélation étroite avec ce qui se produisait en Occident dans ce domaine[2]. Car jusqu'à présent, et malgré un nombre d'indices qui plaidaient en faveur de quelques affinités apparentes, l'attention des néohellénistes, surtout en matière d'histoire des idées et de littérature comparée, était absorbée presque exclusivement par la tradition qui voulait étudier les contacts et les échanges avec la pensée et la civilisation occidentales. Néanmoins, en essayant de saisir le mécanisme de quelques phénomènes examinés, nos pas ont dû nous mener en arrière, de l'Europe éclairée vers l'aire islamique. Certes, les liens multiples qui unissent la Grèce post-byzantine et sous domination ottomane, ainsi que, par extension, le monde balkanique, avec le Proche Orient arabe, peuvent être attestés à maintes reprises. Toute une littérature théologique – à caractère réfutatoire, dogmatique ou

1. Le terme *orientalistes* (ἀνατολισταί) fut pour la première fois employé en langue grecque dans les colonnes du *Mercure Savant* (Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος) de l'année 1817, fasc. 20/15 octobre, p. 505. Cf. Σ.Α. Κουμανούδης, *Συναγωγή νέων λέξεων...*, reproduction anastatique avec une préface de C.Th. Dimaras, Athènes 1980, p. 71.

2. Voir notre étude "Un aspect des Lumières néohelléniques: l'approche scientifique de l'Orient. Le cas de Dimitrios Alexandridis", *Ἑλληνικά*, 35 (1985), p. 316-337.

répondant à des fins liturgiques – l'apparition de quelques livres dogmatiques – des manuels de grammaire et des dictionnaires de langue arabe et turque – enfin, la circulation (en manuscrit et en imprimé) des œuvres appartenant à la littérature populaire orientale en sont la preuve[3].

Pourtant, si l'influence de certains motifs ou certaines œuvres de la littérature narrative, ou encore l'existence d'énoncés culturels orientaux dans la conscience collective de la communauté balkanique rencontrent communément l'approbation des spécialistes, en revanche la mise au point scientifique n'était pas auparavant guidée, comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, vers un phénomène d'une toute autre dimension et d'une toute autre perspective: il s'agit de la formation d'un besoin de chercher une méthode scientifique pour la compréhension de la culture arabe. Dans les Principautés Danubiennes, Dimitri Catargi, représentant typique et éminent de l'esprit phanariote, éprouve le besoin d'étudier les langues arabe et turque au même titre que les langues occidentales modernes[4]; imprégné par la connaissance et l'appréciation

3. Georges Kehaghioglou a posé ces questions surtout à propos de l'impact et de la fortune des *Mille et Une Nuits* en Grèce; voir de cet auteur "La première traduction grecque imprimée du récit *Alf Layla Wa Layla* (Mille et Une Nuits)", en grec, in *Graeco-Arabica,* 3 (1984), pp. 214-215.

Pour donner une image de l'ambiance culturelle balkanique, de la réception de la littérature orientale ainsi que des *lectures* répandues, retenons, à titre d'exemple, quelques études se référant au cas roumain: B. Munteano, "Les influences orientales en Roumanie" in *Revue de Littérature comparée,* 1934, pp. 166-180; Dan Simonescu et I.C. Chiţimia, *Cărţile populare în literatura românească,* Bucarest 1963; N. Cartojan, *Cărţile populare în literatura românească,* éd. par les soins de Al. Chiriacescu. Préface de Dan Zamfirescu. Postface de Mihai Moraru, Bucarest 1974 (première édition, vol. I et II, 1929 et 1938); aussi, Al. Duţu, "Les livres de délectation dans la culture roumaine" in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes,* 2 (XI) 1973, p. 307 sq.; M. Anghelescu, *Literatura Română si Orientul (secolele XVII-XIX),* Bucarest 1975.

4. Δημ. Καταρτζῆς, *Τά Εὑρισκόμενα,* éd. par les soins C.Th. Dimaras, Athènes, OMED, 1970, p. 404: "Τά τούρκικα ὡσάν ἐπικρατοῦσα γλῶσσα ὁπού εἶναι εἰς τό βασίλειον, καί ὡσάν μία γλῶσσα τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὁπού εἶναι εἰς τήν Ἀνατολήν, εἶναι ἀναγκαία εἰς τό ἔθνος", "Ἐπειδή καί εἰς τήν Συρίαν καί Αἴγυπτον λαλοῦν οἱ Χριστιανοί κοινότερον ἀραβικά καί τά μεταχειρίζονται καί εἰς τάς ἱεράς ἀκολουθίας, ὁμοίως χρειάζονται εἰς τό ἔθνος".

C.Th. Dimaras, à qui d'ailleurs appartient le grand mérite de la restitution de la pensée et de l'œuvre de Dim. Catargi, n'a pas mis en évidence le caractère bipolaire (Occident-Orient) de ses orientations culturelles. Il reconnaît toutefois comme pertinente l'opinion exprimée par Virgil Cândea que les Phanariotes "ont servi aussi de chaînon du côté des civilisations asiatiques"; voir C.Th. Dimaras, "Patras-point de jonction de deux cultures helléniques" in *Structure sociale et développement culturel des villes Sud-Est Européennes et Adriatiques aux XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles, Actes* du Colloque interdisciplinaire (...) de Venise (27-30 mai 1971), Bucarest, AIESEE, 1975, p. 154.

de la littérature correspondante, il est aussi amené à constater avec lucidité et beaucoup d'humeur critique l'influence exercée par les poètes arabes sur les jeunes de son milieu[5]. Tout cela se passe vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle; également, vers le tournant du siècle, à Smyrne, Ad. Coray, jeune homme alors à la recherche du savoir, celui qui sera précisément par la suite l'inspirateur et l'animateur de la notion de "transvasement" des acquisitions scientifiques et spirituelles de l'Europe éclairée en Grèce, nous confie dans son *Autobiographie,* "qu'il a éprouvé le désir de connaître la langue arabe"[6], savoir qui pourra être réalisé quelques années plus tard, très probablement à Vienne, par Dimitrios Alexandridis.

Le "médecin-philosophe" Dimitrios Alexandridis (Tyrnavo de Thessalie 1785? - Vienne 1851) est une physionomie intéressante à maints égards, quoique peu étudiée dans ses divers aspects[7]. Sans doute son activité, qui s'étend au domaine de la lexicographie (par son dictionnaire et sa grammaire gréco-turcs), à celui de la traduction d'ouvrages historiques (Goldsmith, Mitford), également à celui de la géographie et enfin au champ du journalisme, s'harmonise-t-elle avec les revendications idéologiques des Lumières néohelléniques. Néanmoins sa pensée, formée notamment pendant ses études dans le cadre de l'esprit scientifique allemand de la fin du XVIIIe siècle, est déterminée par une composante qui demeure encore méconnue: il s'agit précisément de la manifestation d'un orientalisme scientifique, cultivé et influencé par le climat univesitaire allemand de l'époque, et qui acquiert une valeur éducative[8]. Le souci de Dimitrios Alexandridis pour la

5. Δημ. Καταρτζῆς, *Δοκίμια,* éd. par les soins de C.Th. Dimaras, Athènes, Hermis, 1974, p. 42 sq.; voir surtout l'essai intitulé: "Συμβουλή στούς νέους πῶς νά ὠφελιοῦνται καί νά μή βλάπτονται ἀπ' τά βιβλία τά φράγκικα καί τά τούρκικα, καί ποιά νά'ναι ἡ καθ'αὑτό τους σπουδή" (ca 1783).

6. "Βίος Ἀδαμαντίου Κοραῆ" in *Προλεγόμενα στούς ἀρχαίους Ἕλληνες Συγγραφεῖς,* reproduction anastatique, Athènes 1984, p. ις΄: "Ἐλησμόνησα νά ἱστορήσω, ὅτι, πρίν γνωρίσω τόν σεβάσμιον τοῦτον διδάσκαλον [:B. Keun], ἐπόθησα τήν γνῶσιν τῆς Ἀραβικῆς γλώσσης. Παρατρέχω τήν αἰτίαν τοῦ πόθου τούτου, φοβούμενος μή φανῶ, ὅτι γράφω μυθιστορίαν. Ἀλλ' ἔπρεπ' ἐξανάγκης νά λάβω διδάσκαλον Τοῦρκον· καί τοῦτο ἦτον ἀδύνατον εἰς ἐμέ, ἐπειδή καί μόνον τὄνομα Τοῦρκος, μ' ἐπροξένει σπασμούς ἀλλοκότους. Ἔμαθα ὅτι τῶν Ἀράβων ἡ γλῶσσα εἶχε μεγάλην συγγένειαν μέ τήν Ἑβραϊκήν· ὅθεν ἀπεφάσισα νά ζητήσω κ' εὕρηκα διδάσκαλον Ἑβραῖον. Ἀλλ' ὁποῖον διδάσκαλον! (...) Μ' ὅλον τοῦτο ἐσπούδαζα τήν Ἑβραϊκήν γλῶσσαν ὡς προοδοποίησιν τῆς Ἀραβικῆς, μ' ἐλπίδα νά εὕρω ποτέ καί ταύτης διδάσκαλον ὄχι Τοῦρκον".

7. Voir notre étude "Un aspect des Lumières néohelléniques...", *op. cit.* qui contient la bibliographie correspondante.

8. *Op. cit.*

promotion des études orientalistes, pour leur diffusion et même leur vulgarisation dans la société pré-révolutionnaire néohellénique[9], le pousse à entreprendre, entre autres, la traduction fragmentaire de la *Géographie* d'Aboulféda (Abūl-Fidā'). L'édition bilingue (arabe-grecque) du texte est réalisée à Vienne, en 1807[10].

Or, dans la présente communication, nous poursuivrons cette première manifestation d'un intérêt systématisé pour l'approche et la connaissance scientifique de l'Orient par un lettré grec de la diaspora, acte qui n'est point dépourvu, en outre, du caractère vulgarisateur des Lumières néohelléniques. Nous nous efforcerons de déterminer les *buts* de cette tâche aussi bien que d'esquisser la "réception" de l'ouvrage dans la communauté orientaliste européenne du XIXe siècle.

Nous avons dit ci-dessus que l'activité de Dimitrios Alexandridis s'inscrit dans l'atmosphère et les exigences idéologiques des Lumières; nous trouvons dans sa pensée cet élan caractéristique vers la connaissance du monde extérieur, extérieur en tout sens, vers la diachronie, exprimé par la traduction d'ouvrages historiques, vers la synchronie qui se manifeste aussi pas la traduction et l'élaboration d'ouvrages géographiques[11]. En outre, Alexandridis semble avoir adopté la devise éducative du mouvement grec des Lumières et c'est précisément dans ce but "édifiant" et au "profit" évident "de la jeunesse studieuse grecque" qu'il se met à la préparation, d'après un manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Vienne, de l'édition fragmentaire de la *Géographie descriptive* d'Aboulféda (le *Takwīn al-buldān):*

9. A partir de 1817 (jusqu'en 1821), cet intérêt s'exprimera par le biais du supplément philologique de son journal politique intitulé, le *Télégraphe Hellénique; op. cit.*

10. ΑΜΠΟΥΛΦΕΔΑ ΙΣΜΑΗΛ βασιλέως Ἀπαμείας ἐκ τῶν γεωγραφικῶν πινάκων Περιγραφή Χορασμίας, Μαουραλνάχρης, ἤτοι τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ὤξου τόπων, Ἀραβίας, Αἰγύπτου, Περσίδος, ἔτι δέ τῆς Περσικῆς καί Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. Μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου τῆς Ἀραβικῆς διαλέκτου, κατά τόν ἐν τῇ Καισαροβασιλικῇ τῆς Βιέννης Βιβλιοθήκῃ κώδηκα, μετά τινων ὑποσημειώσεων, ὑπό Δημητρίου Ἀλεξανδρίδου ἰατροῦ, τοῦ ἐκ Τυρνάβου τῆς Θετταλίας, καί μέλους ἀντεπιστέλλοντος τῶν ἐν Ἰένῃ Ἑταιριῶν, τῆς τε Ὀρυκτολογικῆς καί τῆς Φυσικῆς. Ἀξιώσει καί φιλοτίμῳ δαπάνῃ τῶν φιλογενεστάτων ἀδελφῶν Κυρίων Ζωσιμαδῶν Α.Ν.Ζ. καί Μ. Ἐν Βιέννῃ τῆς Αὐστρίας. Ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας Ἀντωνίου Σχμιδίου. 1807.

Notons quelques éditions fragmentaires faites, à partir du XVIIe siècle, dans le contexte européen: John Greaves (Londres 1650), J.B. Koehler (Leipzig 1766); première édition intégrale réalisée par J.T. Reinaud et Mac Guckin de Slane (Paris 1840); aussi, première traduction intégrale en langue française entreprise par Reinaud (Paris 1848) et Stanislas Guyard (Paris 1883). Les jugements des savants à l'égard de cet ouvrage géographique d'Aboulféda furent très divers, voire opposés, quant à sa qualité ainsi qu'à son originalité; cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* I, ²(1975), p. 122.

11. Κ.Θ. Δημαρᾶς, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός,* Athènes 1977, pp. 69, 312.

"Tout homme de lettres, nous dit-il, sait par les feuilles périodiques que MM. les frères Zosima, natifs de Jannina en Grèce, voulant rappeler les Muses dans leur patrie, emploient tout ce qui peut faciliter l'introduction des sciences en ordonnant à leurs frais toutes sortes d'instructions, et en publiant pour l'utilité de la jeunesse Grecque des livres de diverses sciences imprimés à Vienne, Paris, Petersbourg, Moscou, Leipsig et Venise. Les éditions des Auteurs célèbres de la Grèce, dont ils ont confié le soin à notre compatriote le Docteur Coray, sont assés connues des savans de l'Europe. C'est pour l'utilité et l'instruction de la même jeunesse Grecque qu'ils ont ordonné ici, sous la direction du Marchand en gros M. Johann Stavro de Jannina, la réimpression de l'unique édition d'Oxford des Geographi Graeci minores, *qui est très rare. Pour rendre cette édition plus complète, ils m'ont engagé à traduire en grec quelques morceaux de la Géographie d'Abou'lfeda, dont la plupart se trouvoient déjà dans la susdite édition d'Oxford. Etant alors occupé de deux autres corrections grecques, je concevois bien qu'une traduction pareille me causeroit beaucoup de fatigue; surtout puisque je serois obligé d'aller tous les jours à la Bibliothèque Impériale, pour consulter le manuscrit d'Abou'lfeda. Considérant néanmoins que la voix de MM. les frères Zosima est celle de ma patrie, je me fis un devoir de consentir à leur demande, et outre mes occupations journalières de la Médecine, je me chargeai encore de la susdite traduction"* [12].

Donc la sélection des textes puisés dans la *Géographie descriptive* que rédigea Aboulféda, historien et géographe syrien[13] vers 721/1321, traitant dans leur majorité du Proche Orient (Arabie, Egypte, Perse...), vient s'ajouter, selon les propres mots d'Alexandridis à l'édition de *Geographi Graeci minores,* publications toutes deux secourues sur le plan financier par la générosité des frères Zosima à des fins pédagogiques.

12. *Réponse à la critique de M. de Sacy sur un ouvrage intitulé: Ἀμπουλφέδα Ἰσμαήλ* par Dimitrios Alexandridis (Vienne 1808), pp. 1-2. Le contenu de cette brochure dont un exemplaire fut conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, relié ensemble avec d'autres essais appartenant à S. de Sacy, fut ultérieurement inséré (en 1812) dans les colonnes du journal *Ἑλληνικός Τηλέγραφος.* L'exemplaire de la BN (cote Z 4322) porte sur la première page, de la main de son auteur, la dédicace suivante: "à M. de Sacy, de la part et avec les civilités de Dr. Alexandridès".

13. Voir l'article correspondant de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* op. cit., p. 122. Voir aussi l'article *Djughrāfiyā, op. cit.,* II (1965), p. 604.

Aussitôt que l'édition d'Aboulféda par les soins de Dim. Alexandridis a fait son apparition, elle attira l'attention et l'intervention critique du célèbre orientaliste et arabologue français Silvestre de Sacy[14]:

> *"L'OUVRAGE que nous nous empressons d'annoncer, est un nouveau bienfait offert à la jeunesse grecque par MM. les frères Zosima. Non contens de lui faciliter les premiers moyens d'une instruction solide, en publiant pour son usage des éditions des écrivains célèbres de la Grèce, dont les travaux ont échappé aux ravages du temps, et d'assurer le mérite de ces éditions en en confiant le soin à la critique savante et exercée d'un de leurs plus illustres compatriotes, le docteur Coray, ils veulent encore procurer à cette même jeunesse studieuse le moyen de joindre à sa littérature nationale celle des peuples qui, pendant que l'Europe étoit plongée dans une funeste léthargie, veilloient à la conservation du feu sacré des sciences et de la littérature. Pour la première fois un écrivain arabe que, malgré la grande réputation dont il jouit, les nations les plus éclairées de l'Europe ne possèdent encore que d'une manière fort imparfaite, paroît accompagné d'une version grecque; et si la portion que l'on nous donne aujourd'hui n'est qu'un essai, nous pouvons concevoir l'espérance de recevoir l'ouvrage entier de la même main. Ce seroit donc au zèle de quelques particuliers pour l'instruction de la jeunesse grecque que la France, l'Angleterre, l'Espagne, l'Italie et l'Allemagne devroient enfin l'édition entière si longtemps désirée de l'original arabe de la* Géographie *d' ABOU'LFEDA. Puisse cette réflexion enflammer d'une noble émulation les savans et les gouvernemens qui, en réunissant leurs moyens, peuvent répandre parmi nous les meilleurs ouvrages des écrivains arabes et persans, et donner ainsi une nouvelle vie à la littérature orientale"*[15].

Dans sa *Notice,* Silvestre de Sacy, après avoir beaucoup loué l'effort de Dimitrios Alexandridis, et reconnu également les qualités intellectuelles de ce dernier, ainsi que sa compétence en matière de langues asiatiques et européennes – ce qui lui a permis de recourir avec aisance à la bibliographie correspondante à son sujet et aux éditions et commentateurs antérieurs des textes géographiques d'Aboulféda[16] – il allait procéder à une critique bien documentée et exhaustive de l'édition bilingue de 1807. Cette critique a circulé, surtout sous sa forme de brochure paraît-il, dans les grands centres de l'Europe ainsi qu'à Constantinople[17]. Mais comme la *Notice* contenait quelques points critiques négatifs, Alexandridis, se sentant profondément offensé, riposta aussitôt par une publication réfutatoire où il essaya de réhabiliter les points de sa traduction rejetés par S. de Sacy. Il utilisa à cet effet un discours assez véhément qui a pris les dimensions d'une polémique; le style aigre de son "apologie" (ἀπολογία) fut d'ailleurs désapprouvé par quelques uns de ses contemporains, ainsi que le montre une insinuation de Coray[18]. La *Réponse* d'Alexandridis a été remise à son destinataire par l'intermédiaire d'un autre orientaliste, l'autrichien Fr. Dombay, ami commun des deux hommes[19]. S. de Sacy, dès réception de l'*apologie* d'Al., tâcha de répondre par une lettre modérée, datée seulement du 12 juin 1808, dans laquelle il s'efforça d'apaiser la "colère" de son collègue, tout en demeurant ferme sur le bon raisonnement de ses remarques[20]. Cette lettre se verra publiée dans les colonnes du *Télégraphe Philologique* de 1817, pour des raisons inconnues, par les soins même de Dim. Alexandridis.

14. Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838); consultez la monographie de Henri Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy 1758-1838. Ses contemporains et ses disciples,* Paris 1938; sur l'apport méthodologique de S. de Sacy dans le domaine des études orientalistes, voir Edward W. Said, *Orientalism,* New York, 1979, p. 123 sq.

15. Silvestre de Sacy, *Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé Ἀμπουλφέδα Ἰσμαήλ,* pp. 1-3. La critique de S. de Sacy fut tout d'abord insérée dans le *Magasin Encyclopédique* de l'année 1808 et, elle a circulé en même temps sous forme de brochure (24 pp.). Nous avons consulté un exemplaire de cette brochure conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (cote Rés. Z 4321).

16. *Op. cit.,* pp. 3-4. "M. DÉMÉTRIUS ALEXANDRIDÈS (...) joint à la connoissance de plusieurs de langues de l'Europe, celle de l'arabe et du persan. Cette réunion de connoissances étoit nécessaire pour qu'il pût, en traduisant notre géographe arabe, faire usage des travaux des plus célèbres orientalistes qui ont écrit en latin, en anglois, en allemand ou en françois, et mettre à contribution d'HERBELOT, VANSLES, REISKE, OUSELEY, MICHAELIS, NIEBUHR, etc. Si il ne paroît pas parfaitement instruit de ce que les dernières années ont produit en ce genre, on doit moins s'en étonner que lui tenir compte de ses travaux et de son zèle, et s'estimer heureux de pouvoir lui indiquer quelques nouvelles sources dont il saura faire un bon usage...".

17. *Réponse...,* op. cit., p. 3. "Mais voyant circuler ici la critique en question dans diverses mains, puisque M. de Sacy en avoit envoyé un certain nombre d'exemplaires à ses amis pour être distribués dans cette capitale, et conjecturant qu'il avoit fait la même chose dans les autres résidences de l'Europe, et nommément à Constantinople, je me déterminai enfin, quoique malgré moi, à faire imprimer aussi mon apologie, en considérant que je ne pouvois défendre ma cause qu'en opposant publication à publication".

18. Ἀδ. Κοραῆ, *Ἀλληλογραφία,* vol. II, Athènes 1966, p. 461, lettre datée du 29 juillet 1808.

19. *Φιλολογικός Τηλέγραφος,* 1817, p. 31. Une copie du manuscrit de S. de Sacy est conservée à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (Ms 2377).

20. *Op. cit.,* pp. 31-36.

Pourtant, cette "controverse" philologique entre Alexandridis et S. de Sacy allait être encore poursuivie et en dépit des protagonistes de cette affaire. La revue orientaliste *Fundgruben des Orients* (Mines des l'Orient)[21] dans un article signé par Beigel, faisant le bilan des travaux parus en Occident quant à la *Description d'Egypte* d'Aboulféda, se réfère à la traduction la plus récente et la plus étendue dans ce domaine, celle de Dimitrios Alexandridis. Toutefois, l'auteur de cet article partage les objections de Silvestre de Sacy, surtout en ce qui concerne la critique sévère d'Al. portant sur la non-efficacité du célèbre orientaliste allemand Michaelis en matière de langue arabe[22]. Ceci pousse Dim. Alexandridis à faire insérer quelques années plus tard, en 1812, dans les colonnes de son journal édité à Vienne, le *Télégraphe Hellénique,* sa *Réponse* à la critique de S. de Sacy[23], datée de 1808. Devons-nous discerner dans ce geste d'autodéfense, un souci éventuel de justification aux yeux des lecteurs de l'ouvrage?

Or, quoique nous ne soyons pas aujourd'hui en état d'évaluer la diffusion d'Aboulféda dans le contexte néohellénique – à l'usage duquel il fut néanmoins conçu et réalisé grâce à la générosité et au travail assidu de quelques Grecs de la diaspòra et à la base de critères nettement scientifiques – cette édition bilingue fragmentaire, puisée dans la *Géographie descriptive* du géographe syrien, fait preuve non seulement d'une volonté consciente d'introduire l'orientalisme en Grèce mais aussi, coïncidant avec l'impulsion donnée aux études orientalistes au début du XIXe siècle en Europe, à la suite surtout de l'expédition de Napoléon en Egypte, elle semble avoir pu dépasser les barrières formées par les besoins intellectuels locaux ainsi que les exigences d'un public restreint de langue grecque.

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21. *Fundgruben des Orients,* 1809, pp. 409-427. Dans la liste des abonnés du journal, la présence de l'élément grec est importante. Comparez aux remarques faites à ce sujet par N. Béés, "Συμβολή εἰς τά σχολικά πράγματα τῆς Σμύρνης", *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά,* A (1938), p. 193 sq.
22. *Fundgruben des Orients, op. cit.,* p. 410.
23. *Ἑλληνικός Τηλέγραφος*, 1812, pp. 51-52, 55-56 et 58-60.

La traduction arabe de l'Iliade

Le nom de l'*Iliade* est absent du *Fihrist* d'Ibn an-Nadîm, alors que celui d'Homère y figure à deux reprises: une fois comme poète "physicien" et une fois comme alchimiste[1]. A l'époque où les Arabes traduisaient en abondance les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs, les manuscrits de l'*Iliade* ne devaient pas être nombreux. En effet, le plus ancien témoin manuscrit d'origine byzantine en est le *Venetus 454* qui remonte au Xe siècle[2]. Certes, il existait, entre le VIe et le IXe s., de nombreux manuscrits en onciales[3], comme il existait de nombreux papyrus contenant des fragments de l'*Iliade* (on en a dénombré 372), auxquels viennent s'ajouter 35 fragments de commentaires, scholics et paraphrases, s'échelonnant entre le IIIe s. avant J.-C. et le VIIe s. après J.-C.[4]; mais onciales et fragments de papyrus n'étaient pas accessibles à nos traducteus. D'autre part, bien marquée par le paganisme, l'*Iliade* semble avoir été longtemps bannie des manuels scolaires en Occident latin comme en Orient byzantin. Il faudra attendre la Renaissance pour que les mss. de l'*Iliade* se multiplient.

Au cours de mes recherches dans les riches fonds de mss. de Turquie, je n'ai pu voir, ni dans le fonds Ahmet III, à Topkapı Saray, ni dans les collections de Koyonoglu à Konya, où l'on trouve des mss. grecs classiques, aucun ms. de l'*Iliade.*

Cette rareté explique en partie l'absence d'une traduction arabe ancienne de l'*Iliade;* la difficulté d'une telle traduction et son caractère injustifié viennent s'y ajouter. La seule oeuvre à coloration païenne que

1. *The Fihrist of al-Nadîm,* trad. angl. de Bayard Dodge, New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1970, pp. 676 et 859.
2. Paul Mazon, *Introduction à l'Iliade,* Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1942, p. 10 sqq.
3. *Ib.,* p. 13.
4. *Ib.,* p. 39 sqq.

les Arabes aient traduite, est, à ma connaissance, le *Livre des songes* d'Artémidore d'Ephèse[5], dont l'utilité était manifeste pour la science onirocritique alors très développée chez les Arabes[6].

Il a fallu attendre la fin du XIXe s. pour avoir une traduction arabe de l'*Iliade*[7].

Pourtant, elle avait été traduite, selon Aelian (I,12 c.48), en Inde et en Perse, et il semble qu'al-Firdûsî s'en soit inspiré. Elle a été également traduite en syriaque par Théophile d'Edesse, astrologue du calife al-Mahdî (158/775-169/785), mort en 169/785, à l'âge de 90 ans. Il aurait traduit en syriaque, d'après Ḥunayn b. Isḥâq, le *Tadbîr aṣ-ṣuḥḥa de Galien, d'après Ibn an-Nadîm, la Sophistique* d'Aristote et, d'après Barhebraeus (p. 219 sq.), deux écrits d'Homère. Il peut s'agir de deux chants de l'*Iliade,* plutôt que de l'*Iliade* et de l'*Odyssée.* F. Sezgin pense à tort qu'il s'agit plutôt de deux écrits de présages astrologiques tirés de l'*Iliade,* comme il en existe dans le *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* (VIII, 267-70; cf. Gundel, *Astrologumena,* 260-1)[8].

Le texte de Barhebraeus est pourtant clair. "Il traduisit, écrit-il, les deux livres du poète Homère sur la conquête de la ville d'*Ilion* dans les temps anciens, du grec en syriaque, avec une grande éloquence". Cette traduction ne nous est pas parvenue. On raconte que l'illustre as-Sim'ânî, conservateur de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, au milieu du XVIIIe s., en aurait trouvé une copie au cours d'un séjour au Liban (à noter que Théophile était maronite comme lui); il l'emporta avec plusieurs autres précieux mss.; mais une tempête en mer inonda le bateau et abîma et détruisit plusieurs de ces mss., dont celui de l'*Iliade.* Un seul vers nous en est parvenu, rapporté par as-Sim'ânî; il traduit le vers 204 du chant II[8]. Quelques citations empruntées à cette traduction se trouvent chez

5. Artémidore d'Ephèse, *Le livre des Songes.* Traduit du grec en arabe par Ḥunayn b. Isḥâq (m. 260/873). Ed. critique avec introd. par T. Fahd, Damas, IFEA, 1964, XXIX-444 p., III pl. Sur le traitement des noms divins dans cet ouvrage, cf. Gotthard Strohmaier, *Die griechischen Götter in einer christlich-arabischen Übersetzung. Zum Traumbuch des Artemidor in der Version des Ḥunain ibn Isḥâḳ, ap.* F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt,* V, 1, Berlin 1968, pp. 127-162.

6. Cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Etudes religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam,* 2e éd., Paris, Sindbad, 1987, pp. 247-367.

7. Cf. Sulaymân al-Bustânî, *L'Iliade d'Homère,* traduite en vers arabes, avec une introduction historique et littéraire sur l'auteur et son oeuvre en regard de la littérature arabe et des usages de l'Orient. Le texte est accompagné de notes et suivi d'un vocabulaire, I-II, Beyrouth, Dâr Iḥyâ' at-turâth al-'arabî, s.d.

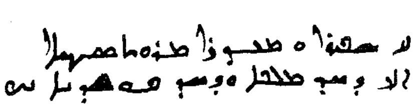
8. F. Sezgin, GAS VII/1979, 49 sq.

certains auteurs, en particulier chez Ya'qûb Barsâkhô, connu sous le nom de l'évêque Sâwîr (Sévère), mort en 1241[9].

On peut s'étonner de l'absence d'une telle traduction chez les Arabes qui ont tant traduit du grec et du syriaque; mais ont-ils ignoré l'existence de l'*Iliade?* Beaucoup de chrétiens de langues grecque et syriaque devaient en connaître l'existence. On peut même se demander si, déjà avant l'Islam, les récits de l'*Iliade* n'étaient pas entrés dans le folklore dans la Syrie hellénisée et l'Irak araméen. Un récit de Ṭabarî permet de le penser.

En effet, dans l'histoire d'az-Zabbâ', que certains identifient avec Zénobie, bien que la fin de celle-ci diffère de beaucoup de celle de la première, il est dit que, pour venger son père, assassiné par un grand chef arabe nommé Jadhîma l-Abrash (le Lépreux), dont le nom est attesté dans une inscription sépulcrale bilingue, grecque et araméenne, datant du IIIe s., az-Zabbâ' attira chez elle par ruse l'assassin de son père et lui coupa les veines, après l'avoir soulé, et le saigna jusqu'à la mort. Son neveu et successeur 'Amr b. 'Adî mit au point une ruse analogue à celle utilisée par les Grecs devant Troie: il réussit à faire entrer, dans la ville fortifiée d'az-Zabbâ', 2.000 soldats dans de grands sacs portés par 1.000 chameau. Ces sacs *(ġarâ'ir)* étaient censés contenir des étoffes précieuses, des vêtements, des parfums, des soies, des objets rares. Les noeuds des sacs étaient tournés vers l'intérieur. Arrivée la nuit, la caravane, lourdement chargée, pénétra dans la ville sans problème, grâce à la confiance dont jouissait son chef Qaṣîr (le Bref) auprès d'az-Zabbâ'. Quand le dernier chameau entra, le portier, un nabaṭéen dit, dans sa langue, *bîshtâ bi-sqâ,* "il y a quelque chose de mauvais dans ces sacs", et il en conçut une grande frayeur.

Quand les chameaux parvinrent au centre de la ville, on les fit agenouiller. Alors les soldats se précipitèrent hors des ballots, tirant leurs sabres et vociférant. Az-Zabbâ' courut vers le passage secret de sa cachette souterraine; elle vit Qaṣîr, l'artisan de cette ruse, qui se tenait à l'entrée, le sabre à la main; elle revint sur ses pas et rencontra 'Amr b. 'Adî qui la tua d'un coup de sabre. Pour certains, elle mourut après avoir avalé un poison à effet instantané, enfermé dans le chaton de sa bague.

9. 

10. Bustânî, *Iliade,* I, 266; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur,* Bonn 1922, p. 341 sq.

La ville fut détruite et les enfants, réduits en esclavage. Le récit est émaillé de vers d'allure épique[11].

Il est difficile de ne pas penser à la ruse du cheval de Troie, en dépit des différences qui séparent les deux récits. Grecs et Syriaques devaient avoir, dans leurs contes populaires, des réminiscences de cette grande épopée.

Sulaymân al-Bustânî, traducteur moderne de l'*Iliade,* relève, dans ses riches annotations et nombreux commentaires, de multiples ressemblances entre ses faits et récits et les faits et récits qu'on trouve dans le folklore de l'Arabie préislamique. Les Arabes qui nomadisaient à travers les steppes de Syrie et d'Irak et qui côtoyaient des Byzantins et des Syriaques, pouvaient avoir recueilli des récits populaires recelant des réminiscences des grands événements du passé. Le grand nombre de papyrus contenant des fragments de l'*Iliade,* dont nous avons parlé précédemment, indique la vogue dont jouissaient les poèmes homériques en Orient. Ils devaient servir de matériels scolaires en milieux païens, à l'instar des *Psaumes* de David chez les juifs et les chrétiens.

Toujours est-il qu'il a fallu attendre la fin du siècle dernier pour avoir une traduction arabe de l'*Iliade.* C'est une traduction versifiée. L'auteur en est Sulaymân al-Bustânî. Il a mis huit ans pour en venir à bout (1887-1895). Il avait commencé à travailler sur des traductions française, anglaise, italienne, puis il s'est rendu compte qu'il lui fallait approfondir sa connaissance du grec, vu les divergences qui lui apparaissaient dans les traductions utilisées. Il passa plusieurs mois à faire du grec avec un père jésuite, jusqu'à ce qu'il se sentit capable d'entreprendre un tel travail. Il reprit ce qu'il avait déjà traduit et y apporta les corrections et améliorations qui s'imposaient. Au cours d'un long séjour à Istanbul, entre 1888 et 1895, il a pu se faire aider par deux amoureux d'Homère, Karafrides, traducteur à l'Ambassade d'Angleterre, et Karolides, professeur à la Faculté grecque Khalki d'Istanbul, qui l'aidèrent à résoudre les difficultés qu'il rencontrait.

La méthode suivie par le traducteur repose sur deux principes: la fidélité au texte et le respect de la structure de la langue arabe. Il s'est appliqué à ne rien ajouter ni rien omettre et à ne rien avancer ni rien retarder que quand la langue l'exigeait. Il prenait en considération la phrase tout entière, quel que soit le nombre des vers qui la composait, et

11. Cf. Ṭabarî, *Târîkh,* éd. de Geoje, I^{2}, pp. 750-771; trad. fr. revue et corrigée par Charles Pellat, II, 400-401.

il la rendait en arabe dans la plus belle forme possible, ne la quittant qu'après avoir acquis la certitude de l'avoir rendu intégralement.

Comme la prosodie arabe diffère sensiblement par ses mètres de la prosodie grecque, où le vers équivaut à un hémistiche arabe, et comme l'idée peut être exprimée par plusieurs vers successifs, ce qui n'est pas courant dans la poésie arabe classique, il n'a pas été toujours possible de rendre le vers grec par un vers ou un hémistiche arabes, d'autant plus que certains mètres comportent plus de syllabes que d'autres et peuvent, de ce fait, englober plus d'un vers grec. Ainsi, les mètres *ṭawîl, kâmil* et *basîṭ* peuvent rendre environ deux vers de l'original grec, alors que deux vers du *khafîf, sarî', munsariḥ, rajaz, mutaqârib, mutadârak, wâfir* et *ramal* peuvent rendre trois vers grecs. Il en résulte qu'aux dix-sept mille vers environ de l'original correspondent environ onze mille vers arabes.

Quant à la fidélité à l'original, le traducteur s'est attaché à rendre les mots du texte, n'omettant que les répétitions qui ne conviennent pas à la langue arabe et les termes dont le sens découle de la tournure de la phrase, notamment les surnoms et les sobriquets, dont la répétition ne s'impose pas toujours. S'il lui arrive d'ajouter un mot, c'est qu'il est exigé par la phrase arabe ou par la rime, sans toutefois qu'il en résulte ni addition ni omission. Il ne recourt à l'inversion que quand le moule arabe l'exige. "C'est là, dit-il, la contrainte la plus grave que je me suis imposée" (p. 178).

D'autre part, il s'est appliqué à éviter les termes difficiles et peu usités. Quand il est amené à en utiliser un, c'est soit un mot irremplaçable, ou une rime inéritable, ou une expression préférable à une autre plus courante. Il arrive que des mots et des circonlocutions descriptifs ne trouvent pas d'équivalents en arabe ou n'y sont pas utilisables, le traducteur s'est vu alors obligé de choisir un terme exprimant l'idée voulue. Dans ce cas, il en avertit le lecteur.

Prenons quelques exemples:

Les dieux grecs ont une nourriture et une boisson qui n'ont pas d'équivalents en arabe. Le traducteur rend la nourriture (ἀμβροσία) par l'arabe *'anbar* (ambre) et la boisson (νέκταρ) par deux termes: *kawthar* et *salsabîl,* désignant, le premier, un fleuve, le second, une source dans le paradis coranique.

De même, les demi-dieux de la mythologie grecque n'ont pas de semblables dans le panthéon arabe. Aussi, leurs noms ont-ils été traduits. Ainsi, les Muses sont dites *qiyân* (esclaves chanteuses) et les Grâces (Χάριτες), *kharâ'id.* Les entités célestes, tels la Séduction

(fitna), le Sphinx *(abû l-hawl),* la Discorde *(shiqâq),* les Heures *(sâ'ât),* etc., ont été simplement traduites en arabe.

Les qualificatifs propres à chacun des personnages de l'*Iliade,* tels "la légèreté du pas" d'Achille, "le mouvement du casque" d'Hector, "le berger du peuple" dit de Nestor, "le père des dieux" dit de Zeus, le traducteur en évite la répétition et les rend par des expressions plus agréables à l'oreille arabe, comme *ṭayyâr al-khuṭä, hayyâj at-tarîka,* etc.

Le traitement des noms propres pose de vrais problèmes difficiles à résoudre. Faut-il les translittérer au risque d'écorcher l'oreille du lecteur arabe par leur étrangeté? Le traducteur, n'ayant pas trouvé, chez ses prédécesseurs, de règles en la matière, a été contraint d'en établir lui-même.

Contrairement aux traducteurs en langues européennes, qui donnent aux dieux de l'*Iliade* les noms de leurs correspondants latins, notre traducteur conserve à ces mêmes dieux leurs noms grecs, même quand certains d'entre eux sont connus chez les Arabes, comme Zâwîsh (chez Abû Nuwâs, par ex.) ou al-Mushtarî pour Zeus, qui est rendu par Zefs; il utilise Hermès au lieu de 'Uṭârid, Âres et non al-Marrîkh; car les noms arabes ne répondent pas exactement aux qualificatifs des noms grecs; seul az-Zahara, pour Aphrodite, a été retenu pour sa correspondance dans les mythologies des deux peuples.

Pour les noms propres, la forme grecque est généralement conservée, avec, parfois, un léger aménagement pour une meilleure prononciation arabe. Les noms arabisés de longue date, comme celui d'Alexandre (al-Iskandar), ont été conservés; un *hâ'* a été ajouté aux noms commençant par un accent fort (Homîoros au lieu d'Omiros, Hîra au lieu d'Ira, comme ont fait les anciens avec Hîrodos, Hîrôdotès, Hiraql, Hilâna, etc. Un *'ayn* a été ajouté, comme préfixe, à certains noms commençant par *alfa,* comme 'Asqalef pour Asqlef, 'Afrodît pour Afrodît. De même, certaines désinences finales ont été apocopées par souci d'allègement, comme Ṭarṭâr pour Ṭarṭarôs, Iskamandr pour Iskamandros, Hirakl pour Herklès, etc.

Certaines lettres de l'alphabet arabe n'existent pas en grec; c'est le cas du *ṭâ'* et du *qâf* que l'on trouve employés fréquemment dans des noms propres, à la place du *tâ'* et du *kâf.* Ex. Anṭiôkhos pour Antiôkhos, Qibris pour Kibris, etc. Cela correspond mieux à la prononciation arabe. Dans ce but, le *ṣâd* est utilisé parfois à la place du *sîn* et le *dâl* et le *dhâl* sont concurremment utilisés suivant l'euphonie.

Certaines lettres de l'alphabet grec n'ont pas de correspondant dans l'alphabet arabe, comme le *bêta* (prononcé *vêta),* rendu uniformément par le *bâ',* le *pi,* rendu par le *fâ'* (ex; Firyâm pour Priam), et parfois par le *bâ'* par souci d'allègement (ex. Olymbe pour Olympe). Le *gamma* est rendu soit par le *jîm,* soit par le *ghayn,* selon les exigences de l'euphonie. Souvent le *jîm* égyptien ou syrien paraît plus euphonique.

Quand le *thêta* et le *sigma,* fréquents dans les mots grecs, se rencontrent, leur prononciation devient difficile en arabe. Dans ce cas, le *thêta* est changé en *tâ'.* Les *pi* et *phi* sont évités dans la versification, mais conservés dans les commentaires.

Aux difficultés de translittération de certaines consonnes vient s'ajouter celles des voyelles qui manquent à l'arabe, à savoir: é o eu è. Le traducteur se contente des voyelles de l'arabe évitant de surcharger le texte de signes supplémentaires. Pour marquer l'accent, il utilise le *madd* (allongement), écrivant, par ex., Āres au lieu d'Arîs.

Telles sont les règles suivies dans la translittération des noms propres très nombreux dans l'*Iliade.*

Venons-en maintenant à la versification.

Le choix des mètres et des rimes est laissé au génie du poète; il n'existe pas de mètres affectés à tel ou tel genre, excepté les poèmes didactiques et la poésie chantée, comme les *muwashshaḥât* andalouses. Le poète inspiré trouve spontanément le mètre qui corresponde à son inspiration du moment. Toutefois, l'art métrique conduit au choix de mètres mieux adaptés à telle ou telle expression. On n'utilise pas le mètre "long" *(ṭawîl)* pour la poésie lyrique, ni le mètre "raccourci" *(muqtaḍab)* pour un poème épique. Le traducteur a utilisé une série de mètres suivant son inspiration et son désir de variation pour ne pas ennuyer le lecteur. Il utilise en tout dix mètres (sur 16). Il y a des chants faits entièrement d'un seul mètre, d'autres faits de divers mètres, selon les circonstances décrites et la nature du récit.

Quant à la rime, dont l'importance est grande dans la poésie arabe, son choix doit être fait en fonction de la musicalité et de la richesse des consonnes choisies. Là aussi, c'est l'inspiration qui est le meilleur guide. Cependant, certaines consonnes conviennent mieux dans certaines situations: par ex., le *qâf* convient mieux à l'expression de la force et du courage à la guerre, le *dâl,* à la glorification et à l'enthousiasme, le *mîm* et le *lâm,* à la description et au récit, le *bâ'* et le *râ',* à la poésie courtoise. La vocalisation apporte des variations dans la musicalité de ces consonnes ainsi senties, en général.

Aux licences poétiques, nombreuses dans la poésie arabe, le traducteur recourt avec prudence et circonspection.

Pour varier et ne pas lasser le lecteur, le traducteur recourt à plusieurs

sortes de compositions en strophes, stances, distiques, quatrains. Certains chants forment un seul poème, d'autres sont de compositions diverses. Cela relève de la nature du texte traduit. Le traducteur fournit de longues explications et citations justifiant ses choix. Il serait fastudieux de les citer ici.

Ce sont là les règles fondamentales appliquées par S. al-Bustânî dans la mise en vers arabes de l'*Iliade.* Il aboutit à une très belle traduction d'une grande allure poétique, qui atténue beaucoup le caractère exotique du texte.

Pour finir, signalons qu'à cette présentation technique de la traduction, S. al-Bustânî ajoute une longue étude (pp. 107-200) sur "l'*Iliade* et la poésie arabe", qui est un exposé d'histoire littéraire d'une grande richesse. Cette étude est complétée, dans ses nombreux commentaires, par d'innombrables citations poétiques arabes correspondant à des vers de l'*Iliade,* à tel point que le lecteur est tenté d'imaginer que les poètes arabes devaient connaître cette oeuvre. L'index des notions fait très fréquemment référence à la poésie et au folklore arabes. Le structuralisme y trouvera de quoi justifier ses thèses.

Voilà l'oeuvre que j'ai tenu à présenter pensant qu'elle est peu connue et qu'elle constitue une importante contribution à la connaissance d'une pièce maîtresse de la littérature de la grèce antique[12].

T. FAHD

12. Cette modeste étude était déjà achevée quand j'ai reçu un tiré-à part de la contribution de mon collégue R.G. Khoury, Professeur à l'Université de Heidelberg, au Festschrift für C. Detlef G. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag *(Nubia et Oriens christianus,* hergg. von Piotr O. Scholz und Reinhard Stempel, Köln, Verlag Jürgen Dinter, 1988), intitulée: *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ilias von Homer* (pp. 163-180). Après une lecture attentive, il m'est apparu que les deux études sont complémentaires, l'une historique, l'autre littéraire.

A Dictionary of Greek Borrowings and Loan Words in Arabic. (Tasks, Methods, Preliminary Results)

An Arabic and Greek (or Greek and Arabic) Dictionary, compiled from medieval translations of Greek into Arabic has for a long time been considered one of the greatest potential tools for scholars of Islam, Byzantium and Eastern Christianity[1]. The first steps in this direction have already been made (we're speaking here about numerous publications of the medieval Arabic translations from Greek with attached glossaries)[2]. However, the traditional method of compiling such a Dictionary unfortunately brings with it a number of mistakes.

The direct comparison of original Greek texts and their Arabic translations – although a very logical operation – quite often leads to incorrect results. The point is that the modern scholar usually doesn't have at his disposal either the original copy (autograph) written by the Arab translator, or the Greek text from which the translation was actually made. In such cases the scholar is often obliged to reconstruct the proper stemmata and then to bring into correlation the hypothetical texts – that of the original and the translation[3].

The Greek and Arabic bilinguae are still a topic of special study[4], but

1. Artémidore d'Éphèse. Le Livre des Songes. Tr. du grec en arabe par Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (mort en 260-873). Éd. critique avec introduction par Toufic Fahd. Damas 1964, p. XIV sqq.

2. Bibliography see – Daiber H. Semitische Sprachen als Kulturvermittler zwischen Antike und Mittelalter // *ZDMG* 1986 /136/ 292-313.

3. Serikoff N.I. Types of medieval translation from Greek into Arabic. Ancient Greece and Byzantium through Arabic Eyes // Byzantium and its Neighbors from the mid 9th to the mid 12th Cent. Praha (in print).

4. Serikoff N.I. op. cit. note 4.

Greek borrowings and loan-words in Arabic have to date been nearly absent from the close attention of scholars[5].

Nevertheless, Greek borrowings in Arabic regarded in their socio-cultural context, could be a first-rate historical source, to say nothing of the fact that a relatively complete list of them would facilitate the work of many specialists in the field of Near East and Byzantine studies.

THE AIM OF THE PRESENT PAPER IS:

a. to inform colleagues that work on the compiling of a Dictionary of Greek borrowings in Arabic has begun and to invite them to participate in this project;

b. to present the methods of compilation and some recent results;

c. to show with concrete examples, how the data of this Dictionary could be used in different branches of historical research.

1. In the compiling of the Dictionary the following *aims* were considered:

a. To put at the scholar's disposal as complete as possible a Corpus of Greek borrowings and loan-words in Arabic;

b. To determine their typical orthography and to trace all the departures from the orthographical norm as well;

c. To assemble all the native medieval Arabic explanations of Greek words;

d. To compile a "Table of letter transformations";

e. To make a concordance of Greek borrowings in Arabic in modern scholarly literature (monographs, periodicals, etc.).

2. *The Greek borrowings in Arabic.* We regarded as such:

a. Greek words rendered in Arabic script;

b. Words of non-Greek origin (Persian, Hebrew, Latin, even Arabic!) borrowed by the Greek language and regarded by the Arabs as *"yūnānī"* (Greek) or *"rūmī"* (Byzantine).

3. *Sources.*

The Greek borrowings are to be picked from the texts which belong to all the genres of Arabic literature of the 8th to 17th Centuries. Special attention should be paid to those writers who had strong interest in the Greek/Byzantine history or commented *"rūmī"* and *"yūnānī"* books on theology, philosophy, botany, medicine etc. Certainly it seems impossible for a single scholar (or even for a small team) to pick up all the borrowings from all the Arabic medieval texts. To make the results more

5. *Caracausi,* but cf. e.g. Krauss S. Griechische und lateinische Lehnwoerter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum. Berlin 1898 (compte-rendu *ZDMG* 1898 /52/ 290).

correct one has first of all to look through the works of the major representatives of the medieval Arabic *"Schrifttum"* (historians, geographers, theologians, natural scientists etc.). All the borrowings and loan-words absent from these texts could be easily obtained from the secondary literature (monographs, periodicals, etc.).

4. *Lexicon.* The Dictionary includes all the kinds of lexicon. Alongside with nouns, verbs, adjectives and so on, there are also proper names. All the words are given in the forms they were found in the original texts: e.g. *Farab. Com. Hermen.* 103.22 استين (3 P.Sg ἐστίν, but not εἰμί). All the MS forms are noted.

5. *The compiling of the Dictionary.*

At present the form of the Dictionary is 14.000 cards culled from more than 30 sources. Among them there are:

a. historical writings (al-Mas^cudi, Agapius, Eutychius, Hamza al-Isphahani, at-Tabari, Ibn al-Athir, Barhebraeus, al-Qalqashandi, al-Umari);

b. works on geography (al-Istakhri, al-Muqaddasi, al-Qazwini, al-Bakuwi, Yakut al-Hamawi, al-Biruni);

c. works on philosphy (Al-Farabi's Commentaries on Aristotle, translations from Plotinus and *"Vorsokratiker"*);

d. works on natural sciences (Commentaries on Dioscorides, works by al-Biruni, az-Zahrawi, Ibn Hindu);

e. translations (Artemidorus' *Oneirocriticon*);

f. encyclopaedias (Ibn al-Qifti, Fihrist).

Also used commentaries on Greek borrowings culled from different periodicals. Among them: *Acta Orientalia, Archiv Orientalny, JA, OLZ, ZDMG, ZKV (Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov), ZMNP (Zurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshenija), ZVORAO (Zapiski Vostochnago Otdelenija Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshestva).*

The word-list is alphabetized according to the Arabic alphabet, the defective writings are also included.

The Dictionary has two types of nests:

a. The complete nest contains 1. The correct (the most complete) rendering of the Greek word into Arabic; 2. The original word written in Greek; 3. The English translation with a short explanatory note if necessary (but if the word has been translated earlier into one of the European languages, this translation should also be attached); 4. all the variants of the rendering of this word in Arabic script with an indication of the source; 5. All the native Arabic Interpretations of the word; 6. Reference to the scholarly literature where this word is commented upon.

b. The short nest vontains the particular writing of the Greek borrowing with reference to the complete nest.

EXAMPLES

1. Greek words rendered in Arabic sometimes display the dialectal Greek *pronunciation.* E.g. diphthong ευ could be rendered as *[au] [i]* and *[af]*:

Seleukia سلوقية *(ZDMG* 1884/38/155 note 1) and سليقية *(Yakut Mu^cjam* 3.242.24: "this is a town and district in the land of *ar-Rum*; it is also called as سليقية). Makarios, Patriarch of Antioch (died in 1672) always renders this diphthong as *[af]*: افسيشيو (Εὐψύχιος –*B* 1227, *page* 111.*line* 3 – *Xalidov Nr.* 7820).

The data of the Dictionary proves that the Arab writers perceived a strong distinction between "foreign" names borrowed by the Greeks and their original (non Greek) pronunciation. Thus al-Mas[c]udi gives several variants of the name "Symeon": Petrus Simon (Συμεών – Acts 15.14) is rendered as سمعون and سمعان *(Tanbih* 109.9), while the name of Simon the Magician (Σίμων – Acts 8.9) is written as سيمن *(Tanbih* 110.4).

2. The Arabic *etymologies* show also the state of developement of the Greek language. Very often Arabs etymologized Greek names, proceeding from their knowledge of contemporary Greek. Their mistakes show us the average understanding of these foreign words by the Arabs and consequently could help us to reconstruct the image of Greece and Byzantium in Arabic eyes[6].

The stone called πτερωτόλιθος – (a kind of stone found in the Stone-book by Aristotle – *ZDMG* 1914 /68/ 616) is described in Arabic translation as follow: "in Greek it is called *Bṭīrūṭālīṭūs* i.e. *'flying /winged/ stone'* ". The adjective πτερωτός *"stuffed with feathers"* is understood as طيار *"flying, winged".*

The name "Cleopatra" (Κλεοπάτρη) قلاوبطرا *(Eutychius* 1.86.15-16) is explained as meaning *"weeping on the rock"* (instead of correct *"glorious because of her father"*). The Arab etymologist saw here two stems: *κλαίω [kleo] 'to weep' (instead of the correct κλέος *'glory'*) and * πέτρη (πέτρα) *'rock'* (instead of the correct πατήρ *'father'*).

Al-Mas[c]udi's etymologies of the name of the Byzantine theme "Optimaton" افتي ماتي (NB: given in the Nominative form *–'ufti mati–*[7])

6. Franklin S. The Empire of RHOMAIOI as viewed from Kievan Russia. Aspects of Byzantino-Russian Cultural Relations // *Byzantion* 1983 /51/ 507-537.

7. Zakythinos D.A. Byzantinische Geschichte. 324-1071. Wien – Graz Köln 1979, 180, Anm. 434.

display the modern Greek words testified to just in the 10th Century: *"Ear' (ngr. ἀφτί) and 'Eye'* (ngr. μάτι)" *(Tanbih* 150.20).

The Patriarch Makarios of Antioch translates the component *-φορος in Greek proper names as "Christophoros" with the Arabic لبس *"to put on". This happens because of a false etymology. *φορος is coincided not with φέρω 'to carry' but with it's modern Greek derivation – φοράω "to put on":* اللابس المسيح *(B* 1227 *page* 111 *line* 7 – *Xalidov Nr.* 7820).

3. The Dictionary has *rare Greek words* which are not testified in Greek or occur sporadically, and the Arabic words of Greek origin as well.

Ibn Hindu *(Hindu* 165.10) mentions a rare Byzantine (?) measure سمطيس. This could be reconstructed as *σημοδιος *(lat. semodius*[7a] دستوى is the Venetian δισκώμης (βεσκόμης (*vicecomes (Caracausi* 84).

شرطن (انشرطن) originally is the Greek χειροτονέω (Passiv – χειροτονέομαι) – *B* 1227, *page* 108, *line* 3 *(Xalidov* Nr. 10533).

4. The Dictionary also facilitates correct understanding of *homonyms.* Thus the Arabic قسط renders the following Greek words: τάξις *(ZDMG* 1896 /50/ 622) – "order, etc"; ξέστης *(JA 1917 /2/ 455 note 2) – "sextarius" (a Roman measure); and κόστος (lat. costus (JA* 1931 /1/ 345) – "a root, used as a spice, *Samsurrea lappa".*

5. The Dictionary has a special section where the *letter transformations* are gathered. This section is necessary because of the nature of the Arabic script. Long ago this fact was stressed by al-Biruni[8], who complained that a single dot on a letter, missed or added could pervert the whole sense of passage. The Greek (and other foreign words), rendered in Arabic script, could produce many mistakes in both writing and spelling and sometimes could appear in very strange forms. The Table of the letter transformations allows the scholar to decide whether his conjecture is confirmed by other types of transformations.

a. قسطرندس *"Qasṭrūndas"* (Hmz 52) this is a corrupted form of the name of Byzantine Emperor Justinianus I (يوسطنيانوس) (527-565) or Justinus II (يوسطينوس) (565-578). Hamza al-Isphahani says that *"Qasṭrūndas"* reigned for 38 years and 3 months and that during his reign the Prophet Muhammad was born. The date of Muhammad's birth (570) coincides with the reign of Justinus II, but the time of *"Qastrundas'"* reign shows that here probably Justinianus I is meant.

7a. Or as σεβίτιον / H. Houliara-Raïos L'abeille et le miel en Égypte d'apres les papyrus Grecs. Ioannina 1989, 133 n. 199.

8. Meyerhof M. Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaidāna. Berlin, 1932, 48-50, cit. after Krachkovskij I.Ju. Arabskaja geograficheskaja Literatura. Moskva-Leningrad, 1957. 255 note 3.

We can confirm conjecture in favour of Justinianus I. Thus the unit قسط could be read as يسط. Also for the transformation of the 'head' into the 'hook' and vice versa cf. *JA* 1888 /1/ 364 *note* 2 بطراساليون) فطراساليون (πετροσέλινον *"parsley"*); *Ag.* 2.54.11 (يولينوس) فولنتوس) ('Ιουλιανός – *"Julian")*. The double orthography of 'Ιουστ- (يوسط or يسط) is confirmed by *Ag.* 2.48.2 (يوسطوس) and *P.Rah.* 1.103; *Hi.Pa.* 1.53.6 (يسطس). The transformation of *dāl* into *wāw* is confirmed by *JA* 1865 /2/ 425 *note* 2 (اردورمالى) اودورمالى) (ὑδρομέλι). ; *Aet.Ar.* 114.5 *Nr.* 114 (اسيوذس) استددس) ('Ησίοδος *"Hesiode")*. The interchangeability of *wāw* and *yā'* is testified to by *Iaq.* 1.165.11 – (انطونينوس) انطويونوس) ('Αντωνῖνος – *"Antoninus"–sic!)*.

Thus the قسطروندس could be improved with يوسطينوس.

b. اصطفانوس *"Iṣṭifānūs" (Hmz* 52) is not an unknown Stephanus. This is a corrupted form of the name of the Byzantine Emperor Tiberios Konstantinos (578-582). The reconstruction as طباريوس seems to be quite plausible. The transformation of *fā'* into *bā'* (and vice versa) is testified to e.g. by *Mafatih* 232.12 (اصطرلاب) اصطرلافون) (ἀστρόλαβον – *"astrolabium")*. The transformation of *rā'* into *wāw* occurs quite often: *Aet.Ar.* 168.28 (*Nr.* 252), 192.25 (*Nr.* 108), *Ag.* 2.47.2; *Hi.Pa.* 1.52.11.

Also the stages of corruption could be reconstructed as following: * طباريوس) * طفارس) اصطفانوس.

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* I'm grateful to Mr. Thomas Epstein (New York, USA) who looked over my English.

** In the work the following ABBREVIATIONS are used:

Aet.Ar. – Daiber H. Aetius Arabus. Die Vorsokratiker in arabischer Uebersetzung. Wiesbaden 1980.

Ag. – Kitāb al-ᶜUnvān. Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj. (A. Vasiliev) // Patrologia Orientalis t.V (557-692), t. XI (1-144), t. VII (457-591), t. VIII (397-550).

Caracausi – Caracausi G. L'elemento bizantino nel arabo // Tre millenni di storia linguistica della Sicilia. – Atti dell convegno della società italiana di glottologia (Palermo 25-27 marzo 1983) Piza 1984 (courtesy of Prof. Vera v. Falkenhausen).

Eutychius – Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales. (L. Cheikho) v. 1, 2. Beryti 1906.

Farab.Com.Hermen. – Alfarabi's commentary on Aristoteles' Περὶ ἑρμηνείας (De interpretatione) (W. Kutsch, St. Marrow). Beyrouth 1960.

Hindu – Abu-l-Faraj Ibn Hindū Miftāh al-Ṭibb wa Minhāj al-Ṭullāb (M. Mohageh, M.T. Daneshpajuh) Teheran 1979.

Hi.Pa. –History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria (B. Evetts) // Patrologia Orientalis t. I (99-214, 381-518), t. V (1-125), t. X (357-551).

Hmz – Hamzā b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣphahānī. Kitāb Tarīkh Sīnī Mulūk al-'Arḍ wa-l-'Anbiyā'. Berlin, s.A.

Iaq – Ibn Wadhih qui dicitur al-Ja'qubi Historiae (M.T. Houtsma), v. 1,2. Lugduni Batavorum 1969.

Mafatih – Liber Mafātih al-ᶜOlūm explicans vocabula technica ... auctore Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ahmed Ibn Jusof al-Katib al-Khowarezmi (G. Van Vloten). Lugduni Batavorum 1893.

Yakut Muᶜjam – Yakut. Muᶜjam al-Buldān. Al-Qāhirah. s.A.

P.Rah. –Petrus Ibn Rahib. Chronicon Orientale (L. Cheikho) v.1, 2 Beryti 1903.

Tanbin –Kitāb at-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf...li-l-Masᶜūdi. (A. Sāwī) al-Qahira, s.A.

Xalidov – Arabskie Rukopisi Instituta Vostokovedenija. Kratkij Katalog. (A.B. Xalidov ed.). Moskva 1988.

L'invention de l'hydroscope et la tradition arabe *

Le problème de l'invention de l'*hydroscope* (ou *aréomètre*)a constitué, depuis longtemps, l'objet de longues discussions parmi les historiens des sciences[1]. Les plus anciennes sources connues qui nous donnent des informations explicites sur l'existence, la forme, la construction et le mode d'emploi de l'instrument datent de la seconde moitié du IVe siècle (Remmius Favinus, *Carmen de ponderibus et mensuris: CPM*) et du début du Ve siècle (Synésius de Cyrène, *Lettre* XV[2], adressée à la

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1. Cf. E. Barry, chez E.-F. Corpet, *Poésies de Priscien: la Périégèse, les Poids et les mesures, l'Éloge d'Anastase,* Paris 1845, pp. 105-106; Ch. Thurot, *Recherches historiques sur le principe d'Archimède,* dans la *Revue archéologique* 19 (1869) p. 45; F. Rosenberger, *Die Geschichte der Physik, I: Altertum und Mittelalter,* Hildesheim 1965 (= Brunswick 1882) p. 59; E. Gerland, *Zur Geschichte der Erfindung des Aräometers,* dans *Annalen der Physik und Chemie* n. sér. 1 (1887) pp. 150-157; J. Thirion, *Le traité des corps flottants d'Archimède et le problème de la couronne d'Hiéron,* dans la *Revue des questions scientifiques* 3 (1893) p. 339; L. Darmstädter *et alii, Handbuch zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik,* Berlin 1960 (= 1908), p. 447; E. Wiedemann, *Über das Experiment im Altertum und Mittelalter,* dans *Unterrichtsblätter für Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften* 12 (1906) n° 6 p. 125; Fr. Hultsch, dans *RE* II (1895), col. 539, *s. n. Archimedes,* n° 3; I.L. Heiberg, *Quaestiones Archimedeae,* Copenhague 1879, p. 43; K.B. Hofmann, *Kenntnisse der klassische Völker von den physikalischen Eigenschaften des Wassers,* Vienne 1909, pp. 18-19 et 61-62; M.K. Stéphanidès, *Περὶ τῶν ποτίμων ὑδάτων παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις,* dans *Id., Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῶν Φυσικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἰδίως τῆς Χημείας,* Athènes 1914, pp. 146 et 176; H. Bauerreiss, *Das Aräometer,* dans *Id., Zur Geschichte des spezifischen Gewichtes im Altertum und Mittelalter,* Erlangen 1914, pp. 95-108; F.M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Vorzeit, der geschichtlichen Zeit und der Naturvölker,* Munich² 1965 (¹1914) coll. 28-30; E. Hoppe, *Histoire de la Physique,* trad. de l'allemand par H. Besson, Paris 1928, pp. 24-25; E. Stamatis, *Ἀρχιμήδους Ἅπαντα,* Athènes 1970, I_1, pp. 7, 198-199 et 254-255; etc.

2. Datée généralement dans la première décennie du Ve siècle; cf. S.A. Naber, *Ad Synesii Epistulas,* dans *Mnemosyne* IIème série 22, 1894, p. 105; O. Seeck, *Studien zu Synesios, II: Die Briefsammlung,* dans *Philologus* n. sér. 6, 1894, pp. 478 et 483; E. Hoppe, *o. c.* p. 25; A. Fitzgerald, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene,* Londres 1926, p. 75; etc.

philosophe Hypatia). Malheureusement, aucun de ces deux textes ne nous donne d'informations sur la *date* et l'*auteur* de l'invention. Ainsi, certains érudits qui s'en occupèrent, évoquant le fait que la fonction de l'instrument avait trait au *principe hydrostatique* connu sous le nom d'Archimède, ainsi qu'un vers de Remmius Favinus, mal interprété (*CPM* v. 124), ont conclu que l'aréomètre devait certainement être compris parmi les nombreuses inventions du grand Syracusain[3].

D'autres cependant, considérant le silence total de l'Antiquité jusqu'à la seconde moitié du IVe siècle sur l'existence de l'instrument, ont refusé leur assentiment à la thèse précedente et se sont orientés vers une date plus tardive: les uns[4] ont essayé d'attribuer l'invention de l'instrument à la célèbre, mais malheureuse Hypatia, la fille du mathématicien Théon, qui fut écrasée et déchirée à Alexandrie, en mars 415, par une foule chrétienne excitée de phanatisme aveugle[5]. W.-L. Dulière[6] a choisi pour le même rôle l'évêque érudit de Cyrène, Synésius, l'élève d'Hypatia. Et d'autres, enfin, ont cru bon de placer l'invention de l'instrument vers la fin du IIIe ou le début du IVe siècle[7].

Rappelons encore que, dès 1860, N. Khanikoff avait déjà fait connaître au monde scientifique (par la publication d'une grande partie du *Kitâb Mîzân al-hikma* du savant arabe al-Khâzinî[8]) une troisième

3. Cf. E. Gerlant, *o.c.*, pp. 152-153; H. Bauerreiss, p. 107 et n. 4; J. Thirion, *l. c.* I. L. Heiberg, *Quaestiones Archimedeae, l. c.*; Id., *Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften im Altertum,* Munich 1969 (= 1925), p. 69 et n. 1; et plus récemment, F. Krafft, dans *Lexikon der alten Welt,* Zurich-Stuttgart 1965, col. 238; E. Stamatis, *o.c.*, p. 7.

4. Cf. l'exposé d'E. Gerland, *o.c.*, pp. 151-152; voir aussi A. Heller, *Geschichte der Physik,* I, Wiesbaden 1965 (= Stuttgart 1882) p. 99.

5. Sur la vie, l'oeuvre, la personnalité et la fin tragique d'Hypatia (*ca* 370-415), cf. entre autres, R. Hoche, *Hypatia, die Tochter Theons,* dans *Philologus* 15 (1859) pp. 435-474; P. Tannery, *L'article de Suidas sur Hypatia,* dans les *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux* 2 (1880) pp. 197-200; K. Prächter, dans *RE* IX$_1$ (1914) coll. 242-249, *s.n. Hypatia;* J.M. Rist, *Hypatia,* dans *Phoenix* 19 (1965) pp. 214-225; E. Evrard, *À quel titre Hypatia enseigna-t-elle la philosophie?* dans la *Revue des études grecques* 90 (1977) pp. 69-74; S.L. Lampropoulou, *Ὑπατία, ἡ Ἀλεξανδρινὴ φιλόσοφος,* dans *Platon* 29 (1977) pp. 65-78 (avec résumé en français); T. Perl, *Math Equals. Biographies of Women Mathematicians + Related Activities,* Massachusetts - Ontario 1978, pp. 9-27.

6. W.-L. Dulière, *Synésius de Cyrène, analyste du Rêve et inventeur du densimètre,* dans *Le Flambeau* 35 (1952) pp. 390 et suiv.

7. P. ex. E. Gerland, *o.c.*, p. 157; F. Rosenberger, *o.c.*, p. 59; L. Darmstädter *et alii, o.c.*, p. 447; K.B. Hofmann, *o.c.*, p. 18; P. Brunet - A. Mieli, *Histoire des Sciences. Antiquité,* Paris 1935, pp. 1021-1022 n. 36.

8. *Analysis and Extracts of the Book of the Balance of Wisdom. An Arabic Work on the Water-balance, Written by Al-Khâzinî in the Twelfth Century,* dans *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 6 (1860) pp. 41-52.

description de l'aréomètre, conservée en arabe, qui semble attribuer l'invention de l'instrument au mathématicien grec Pappos d'Alexandrie. Mais cette information d'al-Khâzinî resta pendant plusieurs décennies inaperçue des historiens des sciences qui continuèrent leurs recherches sur notre question dans d'autres directions.

Il va falloir attendre, à notre connaissance, jusqu'aux premières années du XXe siècle pour rencontrer des travaux qui ont essayé d'exploiter le texte d'al-Khâzinî. Ainsi, après quelques références vagues ou hâtives (E. Wiedemann[9], Th. Ibel[10]), en 1914 et dans son *Inaugural-Dissertation* sur l'histoire de la pesanteur spécifique dans l'Antiquité et le moyen-âge, H. Bauerreiss consacra à l'invention et l'histoire de l'aréomètre un chapitre entier, en insistant particulièrement sur l'apport de la tradition arabe (al-Khâzinî) qui l'a aména à conclure que l'inventeur de l'instrument était sans aucun doute Pappos d'Alexandrie. Mais la parution de cette étude, particulièrement intéressante pour la question qui nous concerne, coïncida, malheureusement, avec le déclenchement de la première guerre mondiale, ce qui semble avoir anéanti son influence sur la recherche contemporaine et postérieure. Nous sommes vraiment étonné de constater que, sauf un article de R.E. Hall[11], nous n'avons pu retrouver, pendant le dépouillement de la bibliographie qui nous a été accessible, d'autres références à l'étude de H. Bauerreiss; et ceux qui se sont occupés de la même question ou simplement en ont parlé après lui parfois négligent tout à fait le témoignage d'al-Khâzinî[12] ou, quand ils s'y rapportent, le font sans l'intermédiaire de H. Bauerreiss[13].

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Dans la suite, nous allons reprendre la question dans le contexte des sources de la seconde partie du *CPM;* c'est une voie qui ouvre, semble-t-

9. *L.c.*

10. *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter,* Erlangen 1908, p. 78.

11. Dans le *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* VII, New York, 1973, coll. 349a, 350a, *s.n. al-Khâzinî.*

12. P. ex. P. Brunet-A. Mieli, *l.c.;* W.-L. Dulière, *l.c.*

13. Cf. E. Hoppe, *Histoire de la physique,* p. 25; R. Arnaldez - L. Massignon - A.P. Youschkevitch, *La science arabe,* dans R. Taton, *Histoire générale des Sciences. I. La Science antique et médiévale (des origines à 1450),* Paris^2 1966, p. 498 (sans référence, cependant, à Pappos); J. Mayerhöfer, *Lexikon der Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften,* II, Vienne 1961, p. 250, *s.v. Aräometer* (sans réf. à Pappos); F. Krafft, dans *Lexikon der alten Welt,* col. 238.

il, de nouvelles perspectives pour la solution du problème. Et commençons par l'apport de la tradition arabe qui semble, à première vue, donner raison à ceux qui, partant du texte de Synésius et de celui de Remmius Favinus et sans connaître le *Livre de la Balance de la sagesse* d'al-Khâzinî, ont abouti à la conclusion que la date de l'invention de l'aréomètre devait être cherchée dans la seconde moitié du IIIe ou dans les premières décennies du IVe siècle de notre ère[14].

Cependant, cela n'est qu'une apparence; l'analyse du texte arabe en comparaison avec la description de Synésius et, surtout, celle de Remmius Favinus, conduit, croyons-nous, à des conclusions différentes.

La première partie du texte du savant arabe concerne la fabrication (forme et dimensions) de l'instrument:

> "L'instrument se compose d'un cylindre (creux), dont la longueur-hauteur mesure 1/2 coudée[15] et la largeur est égale à celle de deux doigts ou encore plus petite; il est fabriqué en cuivre[16], il est creux, pas massif; ... À ses deux extrémités, l'instrument est fermé par deux bases ressemblant à deux légères peaux de tambour, dont chacune est ajustée à l'extrémité avec le plus grand soin possible. Et sur la surface inférieure de l'une des deux bases il y a une pièce d'étain, soigneusement adaptée sur la surface à l'aide d'un tour et ayant la forme d'une quille faisant base commune avec la "peau de tambour". Quand l'instrument ainsi fabriqué sera immergé dans le liquide d'un réservoir ou d'un vase, il s'y maintiendra en position verticale sans s'incliner ni à droite ni à gauche".

Dans la suite de son exposé al-Khâzinî décrit l'application, sur l'instrument, d'une double "échelle graduée" et le mode de son emploi pour définir le poids spécifique de n'importe quel liquide. Et le savant arabe termine son texte concernant l'aréomètre en présentant, de façon, il est vrai, un peu confuse, une démonstration de l'exposé précedent[17].

Certes, le texte arabe, plus détaillé, complet et rigoureux par rapport à

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14. Voir n. 7 de cette étude.

15. *Ca* 25 cm; contrairement à N. Khanikoff (*o.c.* p. 41) et à F.M. Feldhaus (*Die Technik der Vorzeit,* col. 29), H. Bauerreiss *(o.c.* p. 100) – sans doute par inadvertance – donne comme hauteur de l'instrument la longueur de *"1/4 Handellen"*.

16. En arabe *nuchâs:* c'est certainement le "cuivre" et non pas le "cuivre jaune", le "laiton", en anglais *brass,* par lequel N. Khanikoff a traduit le texte arabe; cf. H. Bauerreiss, *l.c.* n. 2 (F.M. Feldhaus, *l.c.:* "Kupferblech", "feuille de cuivre").

17. Voir notre exposé détaillé dans, D.K. Raïos, *Archimède, Ménélaos d'Alexandrie et le CPM,* Jannina 1989, pp. 133 et suiv.

ceux de Remmius Favinus et de Synésius de Cyrène, malgré quelques points obscurs ou, parfois, redondants, répond de façon satisfaisante aux exigences d'un exposé scientifique. Cependant, ce qui est peut-être surprenant, c'est qu'au fond le texte arabe ne nous apporte de nouvelles informations que sur la construction et l'emploi de l'échelle graduée de l'instrument. Pour sa forme et ses dimensions, il répète, de façon plus explicite, ce que nous conservent la lettre de Synésius et, surtout, le texte du *CPM.*

En effet, quand al-Khâzinî écrit que l'instrument se compose d'un cylindre creux fabriqué en cuivre, dont la longueur mesure une demie coudée et le diamètre deux doigts ou encore moins, qu'il est lesté d'une pièce d'étain ayant la forme d'une quille et un tel poids de manière que l'instrument se tienne debout, quand il est immergé dans un liquide, en ne s'y enfonçant qu'en partie, il répète, mais en termes plus "scientifiques", les paroles de Remmius Favinus:

> "On construit un cylindre d'argent ou de bronze fin de la longueur des entre-noeuds du roseau fragile[18]; par la suite on leste sa base d'un petit cône qui la bouche, de sorte que le cylindre ne s'enfonce pas tout entier et qu'il ne flotte pas totalement à la surface du liquide[19]".

Il est vrai que l'*internodium* et le diamètre d'un roseau varient selon l'espèce et la région[20]; mais les dimensions du cylindre ne semblent pas jouer un rôle décisif dans le fonctionnement de l'instrument; et même dans le texte d'al-Khâzinî, elles sont définies de façon approximative,

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18. Cf. Synésius, *Lettre* XV:

"Σωλήν ἐστι κυλινδρικὸς αὐλοῦ καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος ἔχων..."

Rappelons qu'en Grèce, au début, le tuyau cylindrique commun de l'αὐλός était toujours taillé dans une tige de roseau, d'où le nom de κάλαμος qui le désigne souvent.

19. Traduction des vers 103 à 106 du *CPM:*

Ducitur argento tenuiue ex aere cylindrus,
quantum inter nodos fragilis producit harundo,
cui cono interius modico pars ima grauatur
ne totus sedeat totusue supernatet undis.

20. Cf. p. ex., Pline l'Ancien, *Hist. nat.* XVI, 66 (164):

"Il y a plusieurs espèces de roseaux. L'un est plus compact, avec des articulations plus rapprochées, des entre-noeuds courts, l'autre a des articulations moins nombreuses, de plus grands entre-noeuds et un corps plus fin..." (trad. de J. André); Cf. aussi Théophraste, *Hist. des plantes* 4, 11, 1; 11, 10 et suiv.; Stadler, dans *RE* X_2 (1919) coll. 1538-1541, *s.v. Kalamos.*

Quant à la longueur des anciens αὐλοί, cf. notre étude, *Archimède, Ménélaos d'Alexandrie et le CPM,* p. 146 n. 113.

notamment le diamètre. D'autre part nous devons signaler qu'en général les détails omis ou négligés par le poète sont sans importance particulière (p. ex., la matière du lest conique) ou tout à fait évidents[21].

Donc, la *différence fondamentale* entre l'hydroscope de Remmius Favinus et celui d'al-Khâzinî réside dans la *conception et l'application sur l'instrument d'une échelle graduée.* Dans le premier cas, l'échelle primitive est divisée

> "en autant de parties que le cylindre... pèse de scrupules",

c'est-à-dire, elle porte un nombre de "divisions"-"degrés" qui dépend, chaque fois, du poids de l'instrument; en revanche, l'aréomètre d'al-Khâzinî est muni d'une double échelle beaucoup plus sophistiquée, dont le nombre des "parcelles numérotées" est toujours le même pour tous les instruments de ce genre; le cylindre est encore marqué, à une hauteur fixe, d'un "équateur d'équilibre", une ligne circulaire qui distingue la partie des liquides plus lourdes que l'eau de la partie des liquides plus légers. En d'autres termes, l'instrument décrit par al-Khâzinî permet de définir le poids spécifique de tout liquide (la densité de l'eau prise comme densité-étalon), tandis que l'aréomètre de Remmius Favinus sert à comparer deux liquides, n'importe lesquels, et à définir lequel en est le plus dense ou le plus pesant.

Par conséquent, si les ressemblances dans la description de l'appareil par les deux auteurs laissent penser naturellement à une source commune, cette divergence importante pose vraiment un problème délicat: relève-t-elle de la *diversité des sources* ou l'échelle graduée fixe de l'aréomètre décrit par al-Khâzinî constitue-t-elle un *perfectionnement* de plus parmi tant d'autres améliorations que les savants arabes ont apportées à la tradition scientifique grecque?

L'absence de témoignages explicites concernant la première éventualité et le fait que les Arabes ont bien travaillé dans le domaine de l'hydrostatique et celui de la détermination des poids spécifiques[22], semblent, à première vue, favoriser la seconde explication; mais, dans l'état actuel des données, nous sommes contraint d'accepter comme vraie l'affirmation répétée d'al-Khâzinî selon laquelle tout son exposé remonte (même par l'intermédiaire d'al-Bīrūnī) au "philosophe Fûfu al-Roûm", que nos prédécesseurs ont identifié communément à Pappos d'Alexandrie, dont l'activité a dû s'étendre, sans doute, jusqu' au milieu du IVe siècle *p.C.*[23]

Cependant, la forme du nom arabe *Fûfûs*[24] est différente de celle que nous connaissons des autres sources arabes pour Pappos: *Babbus, Battus, B(a)bs, B(a)ns, B(a)ts, B(a)ls, B(a)lbs, Balis, Bbs, Bls,* ...;[25] certes, comme l'arabe ne dispose pas de la consonne *p,* on peut admettre à sa place la présence de la consonne *f*[26]; de même, comme en arabe les marques pour les voyelles ne sont pas toujours notées, on peut également y trouver une explication probable pour la transformation de l'*a* de la première syllabe en *û;* mais il reste toujours à expliquer le fait que cette forme arabe pour le nom de Pappos n'est pas connue par ailleurs, au moins à notre connaissance. Puis, bien que le qualificatif de "philosophe" ne doive pas surprendre pour le mathématicien, astronome et géographe qu'était Pappos d'Alexandrie[27], la tradition

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21. Ainsi Remmius Favinus passe sous silence le rôle du cône dans le maintien de l'instrument en position verticale, quand celui-ci est immergé dans un liquide, mais il insiste particulièrement sur son poids qui joue un rôle capital dans le fonctionnement de l'appareil.

22. Cf., entre beaucoup d'autres, Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter,* pp. 71 et suiv.; H. Bauerreiss, *o.c.* passim; R. Arnaldez - L. Massignon - A.P. Youschkevitch, *La science arabe,* pp. 497-498 *et passim;* C.A. Ronan, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the World's Science,* Cambridge 1984 (= 1983), pp. 201 et suiv. *(Arabian Science),* notamment pp. 226 et suivant *(Physics);* etc.

23. Sur cette question, cf. notre exposé, *o.c.* pp. 154-157.

24. Ou *Fûfs* ou *Fôfs.* La variante *Kôks* donnée par l'édition de Haydarâbâd (al-Khâzinî, *Kitâb Mīzān al-hikma,* 1359/1940, pp. 11, 28, 33 et fig. entre les pp. 30 et 31) semble une mélecture (facile en arabe) de *Fôfs.*

25. Comme les Arabes n'emploient que les consonnes, il est évident que toutes ces formes, apparemment très différentes entre elles, proviennent d'une première translittération du nom de Pappos; *Bbs* qui, en arabe, peut être facilement confondu avec *Bls,* et ce dernier avec *Bts;* cf., entre autres, M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen,* Graz 1960, p. 221 et n. 1 (§ 131) = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 50 (1896) p. 345; E. Wiedemann, *Besprechung eines Stückes aus der Beschreibung Ägyptens von el Kindî und der darin erwähnten Gelehrten (Beiträge III, 2),* dans *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen* 1905, p. 235 (n° 22. *Pappus??*) n. 2; I. Bulmer-Thomas, *o.c.* pp. 299b et 300a.

26. Cf. R. Macuch, *Greek Technical Terms in Arabic Science,* dans *Graeco-arabica* 1 (1982) p. 17.

27. Cf., p. ex., l'article de la *Soude* sur Pappos:

> Πάππος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς *φιλόσοφος,* γεγονὼς κατὰ τὸν πρεσβύτερον Θεοδόσιον τὸν βασιλέα ὅτε καὶ Θέων ὁ *φιλόσοφος* ἤκμαζεν, ὁ γράψας εἰς τὸν Πτολεμαίου κανόνα.

Et celui sur l'astronome et mathématicien Théon d'Alexandrie:

> Θέων ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Μουσείου, Αἰγύπτιος *φιλόσοφος,* σύγχρονος δὲ Πάππῳ τῷ *φιλοσόφῳ,* καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀλεξανδρεῖ.

ancienne et médiévale ne nous a laissé par ailleurs aucune trace sur un ouvrage de Pappos concernant l'hydrostatique[28]. De plus, "il est étrange que Pappus ait cité le traité d'Archimède *Des corps flottants* comme un ouvrage de mécanique appliquée et amusante, avec ceux de Héron; évidemment il n'en connaissait que le titre"[29].

Ainsi nous avons cherché des solutions dans d'autres voies, mais, l'avouons-nous, sans grand succès. Au début, nous nous sommes demandé si sous le nom de *Fûfûs* (ou *Fûfs* ou *Fôfs) al-Rûm (Roum)* ne se dissimule pas une forme alterée d'un nom propre comme, p. ex., *Favinus "Romanus"* (c'est-à-dire "le Grec", *al-Roum)*; une telle hypothèse présupposerait apparemment l'existence d'un traité grec dont le *CPM* serait une adaptation poétique anonyme et le texte d'al-Khâzinî une amélioration arabe; mais, l'état des données disponibles nous a obligé d'abandonner vite cette hypothèse.

Une autre possibilité que nous avons envisagée fut de chercher, sous ledit nom arabe, une altération du nom du médecin grec Rufus d'Éphèse: une mélecture de *Rufus* en *Fufus,* sous l'influence du gentilice romain *Fufius,* semble probable, au moins dans la tradition gréco-romaine[30].

Rufus, un des plus grands médecins de l'Empire avant Galien, sans doute un contemporain de Ménélaos d'Alexandrie, passa – comme l'on sait – plusieurs années à Alexandrie et puis alla s'installer à Rome, où il pratiqua son art sous Trajan. Rappelons que de son oeuvre nous sont conservés partiellement douze traités; nous savons encore que ses écrits étaient bien connus des Arabes qui s'y réfèrent souvent (Sérapion, Mésué, Rhazès, Ibn el-Beïthar, ...)[31]. Dans le *Περὶ διαίτης (Du

28. À ce propos, cf. I. Bulmer-Thomas dans *Dictionary of Scientific Biography, s.n. Pappus of Alexandria,* p. 301a:

> *"If the attribution* (de l'aréomètre à Pappos) *is correct – and there seems no reason to doubt it – the instrument may have been described in the missing part of the eighth book of the "Collection" or it may have a place in a separate work on hydrostatics, of which no other trace has survived".*

29. Ch. Thurot, *Recherches historiques sur le principe d'Archimède,* dans la *Revue archéologique* 19 (1869) p. 47.

30. La tradition gréco-romaine nous a conservé en effet un exemple de confusion inverse de ces deux noms: il s'agit du cas du nom de C. Fufius Geminus dont le gentilice *Fufius* est devenu, dans certaines sources, *Rufius, Rufinus* et encore *Ῥοῦφος;* cf. Groag, dans *RE* VII (1910) coll. 208-209, *s.n. Fufius,* n° 15; pour l'emploi du même gentilice en grec, voir W. Pape - G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen,* II, Graz 1959 (= Brunswick^3 1911), *s.n. Φούφιος.*

31. Cf. Ch. Daremberg - Ch. E. Ruelle, *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse,* Amsterdam 1963 (= Paris 1879), pp. II et suiv.; M. Steinschneider, *o.c.* pp. 362-368 (§ 23); Gossen, dans *RE* IA$_1$

régime)[32], Rufus avait consacré, semble-t-il, un chapitre[33] entier aux différentes variétés et qualités des eaux potables, sujet qui lui offrait certainement l'occasion d'avoir recours à un aréomètre; à ce propos, rappelons que dans le *CPM* la description de l'instrument est précédée d'un passage sur le même sujet (vv. 98-100[34]); rappelons encore que la *Lettre* XV de Synésius et l'exposé d'al-Khâzinî lient de façon explicite l'hydroscope avec son utilité médicale; et nous pourrions en dire autant du texte de Remmius Favinus[35].

Cependant, la référence de Rufus aux différentes variétés et qualités des eaux n'a rien d'exceptionnel dans la littérature médicale de l'Antiquité; on dirait plutôt le contraire[36]. L'absence d'autre part, dans les fragments conservés de Rufus, de toute référence ou allusion à l'existence et à l'emploi de l'aréomètre est un détail dont on ne peut pas

(1914) coll. 1207-1212; W. von Christ - W. Schmid - O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechische Literatur* II$_1$, Munich 1959 (= 1920: *HbAW* VII, 2ii), pp. 452-453; Ch. Singer, *A Short History of Anatomy and Physiology from the Greeks to Harvey,* New York 1957 (= Londres 1925), pp. 42-44; J. Beaujeu, dans R. Taton, *o.c.* pp. 405-406; M. Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine,* Edimbourg 1978, pp. 13, 34-40, 42-43 et *passim.*

32. Traité composé, selon la *Soude (s.n.),* de cinq livres; de longs extraits de cet ouvrage nous sont parvenus grâce aux compilations tardives d'Oribase et d'Aétius d'Amida, et à la traduction du plus grand médecin des Arabes, Abû Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarîyâ al-Râzî, *Rhazès* (*ca* 865-923/24); ce dernier nous a conservé de nombreux extraits du traité de Rufus dans son fameux *el-Hâwî fi'l Tibb (Le Contenant)* dont la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris possède une belle copie, mais incomplète (*mss arabes suppl.* 1005) et qui a été traduit en latin sous le titre de *Liber Continentis* (1ère édition: *Hawi seu le Continens,* Brescia 1486, 2 voll. *in-fol.*); cf. Ch. Daremberg - Ch.E. Ruelle, *o.c.* pp. XLVIII-XLIX et *passim;* Gossen, *l.c.* et coll. 728-731; F.M. Pareja et alii, *Islamologie,* Beyrouth 1964, pp. 995, 996, 997; M. Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine,* pp. 36-38, 43-44, 82-85 et *passim;* D. et J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique,* Paris 1983 (= 1968) pp. 190-191, 475.

33. Selon Oribase, ce chapitre faisait partie du IIe livre du *Du Régime* de Rufus; cf. Ch. Daremberg - Ch.E. Ruelle, *o.c.* p. XXXV n. 3.

34. *Namque nec errantes undis labentibus amnes*
nec mersi puteis latices aut fonte perenni
manantes par pondus habent, ...

35. Cf. les premiers vers:
Pondera P a e o n i i s ueterum memorata l i b e l l i s
nosse iuuat... (vv. 1-2).

36. Il suffit de rappeler quelques noms de savants (dont certains appartiennent à des médecins connus de l'Antiquité) qui se sont occupés du même sujet: Hippocrate, *Des airs, des eaux* 7 et suiv.; Vitruve, *De archit.* VIII, 3-4; Celse II, 18, 12 et suiv.; Pline l'Ancien, *Hist. nat.* XXXI, 3, 6 et suiv.; 23, 38 et suiv.; Sénèque, *Quaest. nat.* III, 2 et suiv.; 25 et suiv. etc.

se passer facilement, d'autant plus que dans un passage de Rufus, conservé chez Aétius d'Amida[37], nous lisons un passage[38] qui renvoie directement au procédé hippocratique:

"L'eau la plus légère est celle qui s'échauffe et se refroidit le plus vite"[39].

Le caractère, enfin, et le style de l'exposé d'al-Khâzinî trahissent plutôt une source composé le par un physicien que par un médecin. Ainsi nous avons cru prudent de renoncer aussi à cette éventualité.

Admettons, donc, que l'identification commune du "philosophe Fûfus al-Roum" à Pappos le Byzantin (le Grec) soit correcte; dans un tel cas, Pappos n'aurait pu, semble-t-il, servir de source à Remmius Favinus, puisque, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, l'aréomètre décrit par ce dernier est différent et semble représenter une étape plus primitive par rapport à l'instrument attribué par al-Khâzinî au savant alexandrin. De plus, l'époque où fleurissait Pappos, question qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre, est un autre élément qui rend une éventuelle dépendance de Remmius Favinus des écrits de Pappos très problématique.

En effet, comme Remmius Favinus écrivait, selon toute évidence, dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle, il n'est pas facile d'admettre que l'invention d'un petit instrument, réalisé apparemment en Égypte, aurait pu, dans les trois ou quatre décennies qui semblent séparer l'activité de Pappos de celle de l'auteur latin, traverser la Méditerranée[40] et devenir familière à un poète latin dont l'activité doit être placée quelque part en Europe occidentale[41]. D'ailleurs, si la description de l'aréomètre transmise par al-Khâzinî remonte vraiment telle quelle à Pappos, l'instrument avait déjà une *forme trop avancée* pour qu'on puisse l'attribuer à l'inventeur primitif.

37. *Synopsis* III, 165, 14; cf. Ch. Daremberg - Ch.E. Ruelle, *o.c.* pp. 343-344.

38. "Car, si l'eau s'échauffe et se refroidit promptement, si elle cuit sans difficulté la viande et toutes sortes d'aliments, elle les fera bien digérer dans le ventre" (trad. de Daremberg - Ruelle, *l.c.*).

39. *Ὕδωρ τὸ ταχέως θερμαινόμενον καὶ ταχέως ψυχόμενον κουφότατον.* Hippocrate, *Aphor.* 5, 26; *Épidém.* II, 2, 11; cf. aussi *Id., Des airs, des eaux,* 7, 4-6 (édit. d'E. Littré, vol. II, p. 32).

40. Puisque nous ne connaissons par aucune source ancienne si la carrière de Pappos comporte des séjours à Rome ou quelque part ailleurs en Occident.

41. En Italie, en Gaule ou en Espagne? Cf. J.-P. Callu, *Les origines du "miliarensis"; le témoignage de Dardanius,* dans la *Revue numismatique* 6ème sér. 22 (1980) p. 126; D.K. Raïos, *Recherches sur le Carmen de ponderibus et mensuris,* Jannina 1983, pp. 39-40 et n. 101.

Par conséquent, l'inventeur de l'aréomètre ne peut être, à notre avis, Pappos, mais quelqu'un d'autre plus ancien que lui. Mais qui? Archimède (étant donné que le fonctionnement de l'instrument repose sur le *principe hydrostatique* qui porte son nom)? Alors, *comment expliquer le silence absolu de l'Antiquité sur l'existence et l'emploi de l'appareil?*

Nous n'avons pas d'illusions à propos de la valeur limitée de tout *argumentum ex silentio,* mais comment admettre facilement que, p. ex., ni Celse ni Pline l'Ancien ni Galien n'y fassent même une simple allusion, quand ils parlent des eaux lourdes et des eaux légères et les différentes méthodes pour les distinguer?[42]

À notre avis, l'invention de l'instrument (ou, peut-être, sa "réinvention"[43]) doit être recherchée à une époque plus tardive, mais certainement, avant Pappos d'Alexandrie. Un argument, plaidant en faveur de cette hypothèse, peut être tiré du texte de Remmius Favinus. Dans une autre étude nous avons démontré que la dernière partie du *CPM* (où précisément appartient le passage concernant l'aréomètre) puise, selon toute évidence, dans les écrits du mathématicien et astronome Ménélaos d'Alexandrie[44].

D'autre part nous savons que la tradition arabe nous a conservé un traité de Ménélaos concernant la définition des composants d'un alliage métallique à l'aide de la balance hydrostatique; cela constitue évidemment un bon indice que Ménélaos s'était aussi occupé, dans ses travaux, de questions touchant l'hydrostatique et la *densité spécifique* des corps métalliques; pourquoi, donc, exclure son intérêt éventuel pour la *densité* des liquides? En d'autres mots, nous disposons d'indices sérieux pour soutenir avec probabilité que Ménélaos aurait pu, bel et bien, être l'inventeur de l'instrument décrit par Remmius Favinus; et dans un tel cas, il est tout à fait naturel que l'existence de l'aréomètre soit ignorée de Vitruve, de Celse, de Sénèque et de Pline. Certes, le problème subsiste encore avec Galien, Athénée et Oribase, mais il est moins grave et peut trouver des expications plus ou moins probables[45].

Ainsi, selon notre hypothèse, l'aréomètre de la tradition arabe serait une édition améliorée (due à Pappos ou à Fûfûs al-Roum) de

42. Pour plus de détails sur ce point nous renvoyons à notre étude *Archimède, Ménélaos d'Alexandrie et le CPM,* pp. 157 et suiv.

43. Sur cette éventualité, cf. notre exposé, *o.c.* p. 159.

44. Cf. notre livre sur *Archimède, Ménélaos d'Alexandrie et le CPM,* pp. 162-176.

45. Cf. notre exposé, *o.c.,* pp. 160 et suiv.

l'instrument inventé (ou, peut-être, "réinventé") et décrit par Ménélaos d'Alexandrie, et dont la forme primitive nous est conservée par le poème de Remmius Favinus qui est, semble-t-il, la seule source "occidentale" qui nous conserve, par la voie de l'adaptation poétique, de longs extraits d'un traité du mathématicien et astronome grec Ménélaos dont l'oeuvre, comme l'on sait, a totalement disparu dans la tradition gréco-latine.

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Νεοελληνική πεζογραφία με ανατολική προέλευση και η αναβίωση της νεοελληνικής πεζογραφικής μυθοπλασίας στον 18ο αιώνα

Όπως έχω σημειώσει επανειλημμένα, κατά τα τελευταία χρόνια, σε μια σειρά ομόκεντρων μελετημάτων μου για τον «νεοελληνικό ανατολισμό»[1], η συμβολή της ανατολικής (κυρίως ισλαμικής) μεσαιωνικής

1. Βλ., κυρίως, τις εξής εργασίες μου (όπου και άλλη βιβλιογραφία): «Η δεύτερη και οι τρίτες εκδόσεις του *Αραβικού μυθολογικού*», *Ελληνικά* 29 (1976) 358-362· «Το *Αραβικόν μυθολογικόν* του 1792», *Ο Ερανιστής* 14 (1977) 203-205· *Κριτική έκδοση της Ιστορίας Πτωχολέοντος...*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1978· «*Χίλιες και Μία Νύχτες:* σταθμοί στις τύχες του έργου και η μετάφραση του Κώστα Τρικογλίδη», *Διαβάζω* 33 (1980) 42-59· «Ο βυζαντινός και μεταβυζαντινός Συντίπας: για μια νέα έκδοση», *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982) 105-130· «Οι έντυπες νεοελληνικές μεταφράσεις του 18ου αι.: Παρατηρήσεις και αποτιμήσεις», *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/6 (1982) 229-237· «Δύο αβιβλιογράφητες εκδόσεις: *Μυθολογικόν Συντίπα* (1755) – *Αραβικόν Μυθολογικόν* (1846)», *Ελληνικά* 34 (1982-3) 494-498· «Από την Κεντρική Ασία ως την Ανδαλουσία: δείγματα της λογοτεχνίας του Αραβικού Μεσαίωνα στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου, I», *Διαβάζω* 73 (1983) 50-55· «Η πρώτη έντυπη ελληνική μετάφραση της διήγησης *Alf layla wa-layla (Χίλιες και Μία Νύχτες)*», *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 213-228· «Modern Greek Orientalism and Literary Responses to the Arabic East (18th Century-ca. 1830)», A. Moalla (εκδ.), *Orient et Lumières,* Grenoble 1987, σ. 75-83· «Modern Greek Orientalism: A Preliminary Survey of Literary Responses to the Arab World», *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 3 (1987) 75-97· «Translations of Eastern "Novels" and their Influence on Late Byzantine and Modern Greek Fiction (11th-18th Centuries)», R. Beaton (εκδ.), *The Greek Novel AD 1-1985,* London-New York-Sydney 1988, σ. 156-166· «Νεοελληνικός ανατολισμός: Συνέχεια και ασυνέχεια στις γραμματειακές προσεγγίσεις του αραβικού κόσμου» *Μνήμη Λίνου Πολίτη* [*Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Α.Π.Θ.*, Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη Λίνου Πολίτη], Θεσσαλονίκη 1988, σ. 157-165· «The Discontinuity of Greek Literary Responses to the Arab World (18th-20th Centuries)», *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 7 (1989) 65-76· *Τα Παραμύθια της Χαλιμάς,* τ. Α-Γ, Αθήνα 1988-1991 (συνεχίζεται).

και νεότερης πεζογραφικής παράδοσης στην ανάπτυξη της υστεροβυζαντινής και νεοελληνικής πεζογραφικής μυθοπλασίας δεν έχει διερευνηθεί σε ικανοποιητικό βαθμό· πολλές περιοχές παραμένουν εντελώς αδιερεύνητες, ενώ, αλλού, σποραδικές παρατηρήσεις και δοκιμές προγενέστερων ερευνητών χαρακτηρίζονται από υποτίμηση του ανατολικού παράγοντα ή από ασυνέχεια και ερασιτεχνικότητα.

Αυτό δεν σημαίνει, βέβαια, ότι στον χώρο της νεοελληνικής και συγκριτικής φιλολογίας έχουν ερευνηθεί ικανοποιητικά άλλα παράλληλα φαινόμενα, όπως: α) η συμβολή της αρχαίας ελληνικής ή της λόγιας και αρχαϊστικής βυζαντινής/μεσαιωνικής πεζογραφικής παράδοσης στη διαμόρφωση της νεοελληνικής πεζογραφίας, και β) η συμβολή της δυτικοευρωπαϊκής μεσαιωνικής, αναγεννησιακής και νεότερης παράδοσης στην εξέλιξη της νεοελληνικής πεζογραφίας (κυρίως 15ος αιώνας κ.ε.)· οπωσδήποτε, όμως, η δραστηριότητα της έρευνας στους τομείς αυτούς ήταν κατά καιρούς, ή είναι και σήμερα, αρκετά εντονότερη και αποδοτικότερη[2].

Γυρίζοντας στο κυρίως θέμα μας, χρειάζεται να πούμε από την αρχή ότι ακόμη και μια πρόχειρη επισκόπηση του γνωστού και βιβλιογραφημένου χειρόγραφου και έντυπου υλικού που αφορά τις γραμματειακές επαφές του Νεότερου Ελληνισμού με τον ανατολικό κόσμο (ιδιαίτερα τον ισλαμικό, και κυρίως τον αραβικό, περσικό και, αργότερα, τουρκικό) δείχνει ότι το υλικό αυτό διακρίνεται από αφθονία, ποικιλία και αδιάσπαστη συνέχεια. Ήδη από τον 7ο αι., κυρίως, όμως, από τα τέλη του 11ου αι. κ.ε., είναι πολλά τα τεκμήρια της γόνιμης πολιτισμικής και λογοτεχνικής ανταπόκρισης του ελληνικού κόσμου απέναντι στη μη ελληνική Εγγύς και Μέση Ανατολή. Τα λογοτεχνικά τεκμήρια παρουσιάζονται μέσα σε ένα πλατύ φάσμα: από την ιστορική/ηρωική λόγια ή δημώδη ποίηση ως τη μυθοπλαστική πεζογραφία και το μυθιστόρημα, και από τη διδακτική, ιπποτική, ερωτική και περιπετειώδη μυθιστορία ως το προφορικό λαϊκό παραμύθι ή το δημοτικό τραγούδι.

2. Η βιβλιογραφία είναι εκτενέστατη. Περιορίζομαι να σημειώσω ότι για το δεύτερο ζήτημα (και ιδίως για τις μεταφράσεις και τη γλωσσομάθεια κατά τον 18ο αι.) βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη ειδικό ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα του Κέντρου Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών του Εθνικού Ιδρύματος Ερευνών (Αθήνα), που αναμένεται να προσφέρει και την απαιτούμενη αναλυτική βιβλιογράφηση, ενώ για το δεύτερο ζήτημα (και με αφετηρία την έμμετρη μυθιστορία) πολλά στοιχεία συγκεντρώνονται στην πρόσφατη μονογραφία του R. Beaton, *The medieval Greek romance,* Cambridge-New York-Melbourne 1989 (βλ. και την αναλυτική βιβλιοκρισία μου, περ. *Ελληνικά* 41 (1990) 158-171).

Αν εξαιρέσουμε τον τελευταίο αυτό χώρο, τον χώρο της λαϊκής παράδοσης, όπου η ποίηση και η αφηγηματική πεζογραφία με ανατολική προέλευση άφησε βαθιά ίχνη στην όψιμη βυζαντινή και στη νεότερη ελληνική προφορική παράδοση, από το περσικό και αραβικό μαγικό παραμύθι, τους απολόγους και τους μύθους, ως τα ανέκδοτα και τις ιστορίες του Νασρεντίν Χότζα και τα έργα του λαϊκού θεάτρου σκιών του Καραγκιόζη, ο χώρος της μη προφορικής νεοελληνικής αφηγηματικής πεζογραφίας δείχνει, σε έντονο βαθμό, τη γόνιμη επίδραση ή τον διάλογο με συγκεκριμένα κείμενα ή θέματα, αφηγηματικούς τρόπους και τάσεις της ανατολικής πεζογραφικής παράδοσης. Καθώς δεν ανήκει ούτε στις γνώσεις μας ούτε στην αρμοδιότητά μας να μιλήσουμε για το απαραίτητο συμπλήρωμα μιας τέτοιας συγκριτικής διερεύνησης, δηλαδή για τον «ελληνισμό» των ανατολικών γραμματειών του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα και των νεότερων χρόνων, θα περιοριστούμε, στη σύντομη εισήγησή μας, που θα μπορούσε να ονομαστεί «συνοπτικό πανόραμα και πρώτος σχολιασμός», στο ελληνικό μη προφορικό πεζογραφικό υλικό ως τα τέλη του 18ου αιώνα.

Στα χίλια περίπου χρόνια που μεσολαβούν από την έναρξη της αραβικής (και ισλαμικής) εξάπλωσης ως τις παραμονές του λεγόμενου Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού (αρχές 18ου αιώνα) μια ομάδα ανατολικών «μυθιστορημάτων», που είχε αργότερα παγκόσμια απήχηση, αποτελεί σταθμό στη γνωριμία της βυζαντινής και νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας με την ανατολική αφηγηματική παράδοση. Ο Ελληνισμός γνώρισε τα έργα αυτά *(Βαρλαάμ και Ιωάσαφ, Στεφανίτης και Ιχνηλάτης, Βίβλος Συντίπα του Φιλοσόφου* [*Συντίπας*]) σε επανειλημμένες μεταφράσεις-διασκευές, από τις οποίες οι αρχαιότερες ανάγονται στην περίοδο 7ος/8ος-11ος αι. Αργότερα, και τα τρία αυτά πεζά μυθιστορήματα συνεχίζουν, με διάφορες, συνήθως γλωσσικά και εκφραστικά ανακαινισμένες, μορφές, μια πλούσια και αδιάσπαστη χειρόγραφη παρουσία, ως και τον 19ο αι. Ένα από αυτά, ο *Συντίπας,* έχει και σημαντική έντυπη διάδοση και γίνεται ένα από τα πιο επιτυχημένα best-seller του λεγόμενου νεοελληνικού «λαϊκού αναγνώσματος» (τέλη 17ου/αρχές 18ου αι.-20ός αι.). Χάρη στα εκτενή αυτά μυθιστορήματα, η νεοελληνική λογοτεχνία γνωρίζεται με τους αφηγηματικούς τρόπους της «διήγησης-πλαισίου» ή «συρταρωτής αφήγησης» (Rahmenerzählung, conte-à-tiroir), με τη σύμμιξη του φιλοσοφικού/στοχαστικού/διδακτικού και περιπετειώδους/ερωτικού/ρεαλιστικού στοιχείου, με τα μοτίβα της υπαρξιακής, κοινωνικής και πολιτικής μοιρολατρίας, του πεσσιμισμού, του εξωτισμού και, ως ένα βαθμό, με τη θεματική και τις εκφάνσεις του ανατολικού φανταστικού και μαγικού. Είναι αλήθεια πως

πολλά από τα νέα αυτά στοιχεία εναρμονίζονται με στοιχεία της εντόπιας ελληνικής παράδοσης, ιδιαίτερα του μυθιστορήματος της ύστερης αρχαιότητας, των μύθων και απολόγων της αισωπικής παράδοσης, της ρητορικής και αγιολογικής γραμματείας των Βυζαντινών, των διδακτικών/θρησκευτικών παραδειγμάτων (exempla) και των «θαυμασίων» (mirabilia), που δεν απουσιάζουν από την ελληνική γραμματειακή παραγωγή· οπωσδήποτε, όμως, η επιρροή των ανατολικών παραλλήλων δεν μπορεί να αποσιωπηθεί.

Πέρα από την ομάδα αυτή των τριών μυθιστορημάτων με ανατολική προέλευση, χρειάζεται να διερευνηθεί περισσότερο η ενδεχόμενη σχέση πεζών (κυρίως αραβικών) έργων με ηρωικό/ερωτικό ή διδακτικό/περιπετειώδες περιεχόμενο (όπως το μυθιστόρημα του *'Umar b. al-Nu'man,* που συσχετίστηκε αργότερα ή συνενώθηκε με το υλικό των *Χιλίων και Μιας Νυχτών*[3], ή οι σύντομες «novelle» του παραμυθικού τύπου AT 565) με περισσότερο ή λιγότερο γνωστά έμμετρα έργα του ύστερου ελληνικού Μεσαίωνα, όπως η επική μυθιστορία του *Βασίλειου Διγενή Ακρίτη* και τα ηρωικά ακριτικά άσματα (11ος/12ος αι. κ.ε.), ή η νοβελιστική/παραμυθική διήγηση της *Ιστορίας Πτωχολέοντος* (14ος αι. κ.ε.)[4]. Τα έργα αυτά, και άλλα παρόμοια, καθώς και ένα τμήμα των λεγόμενων ερωτικών-ιπποτικών έμμετρων μυθιστοριών[5], αποτελούν, επίσης, δείκτες για τη γόνιμη συμβολή της ανατολικής μυθοπλασίας στη διαμόρφωση της νεοελληνικής δημώδους αφήγησης. Μάλιστα, αρκετά από αυτά, παρόλο που εκφέρονται αρχικά (και ίσως σε αντίθεση με τα ενδεχόμενα ανατολικά πρότυπά τους) μόνο σε έμμετρη μορφή, και έχουν μόνο χειρόγραφη διάδοση, διασκευάζονται, από τον 17ο αι. κ.ε., και σε πεζό λόγο. Έτσι, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι, έστω και με καθυστέρηση, επιδρούν και αυτά, ως ένα βαθμό, στην εξέλιξη της νεοελληνικής πεζογραφικής παράδοσης.

Ένα καινούριο, μαζικότερο κύμα πεζών μεταφράσεων με ανατολική προέλευση προστίθεται στη νεοελληνική έντυπη γραμματεία από τις αρχές του 18ου αι. κ.ε., όταν, στην εποχή των πρώτων Φαναριωτών

3. Βλ. κυρίως Β. Χρηστίδης, «Arabic Influence on the Akritic Cycle», *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 94-109, όπου και άλλη βιβλιογραφία.

4. Βλ. κυρίως Γ. Κεχαγιόγλου, *Κριτική έκδοση της Ιστορίας Πτωχολέοντος..., ό.π.* (σημ. 1).

5. Βλ. κυρίως V. Pecoraro, «La nascita del romanzo moderno nell'Europa del XIIo secolo. Le sue origini orientali e la mediazione di Bisanzio all'Occidente», *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/3 (1982) 307-318.

ηγεμόνων στις Παραδουνάβειες Ηγεμονίες και της μεγάλης εμπορικής, τυπογραφικής και πολιτισμικής ανάπτυξης των ελληνικών παροικιών της δυτικοευρωπαϊκής και κεντροευρωπαϊκής διασποράς (Βενετία, Τεργέστη, Βιέννη κ.ά.), ο ευρωπαϊκός λογοτεχνικός και επιστημονικός ανατολισμός έρχεται να τροφοδοτήσει και να ανασηματοδοτήσει τον νεοελληνικό ανατολισμό. Τα ίδια τα πρωτότυπα ανατολικά έργα (χάρη στην κυκλοφορία ανατολικών χειρογράφων ανάμεσα στους Έλληνες της Κωνσταντινούπολης και των πριγκιπικών αυλών των πολύγλωσσων Φαναριωτών), κυρίως όμως οι δυτικοευρωπαϊκές και νεοελληνικές μεταφράσεις τους αρχίζουν και γίνονται της μόδας σε όλο και πιο ευρείς κύκλους αναγνωστών και συγγραφέων. Συλλογές γνωμικών όπως τα *Γνωμικά... αρχαίων φιλοσόφων* ([*Les bons mots et les maximes des Orientaux*] των Galland και Del Chiaro), ιστορικογεωγραφικές και κοινωνικοανθρωπολογικές συνθέσεις, όπως η *Ιστορία της ζωής του Μωάμεθ* ([La Vie de Mahomed / Vita di Maometto] του Boulainvilliers), και μυθιστορηματικές συλλογές παραμυθιών, ιστοριών και απολόγων, όπως το *Αραβικόν Μυθολογικόν*, η *Νέα Χαλιμά* και το *Μυθολογικόν Πιλπάιδος* ([*Mille et une nuits, Mille et un jours, Fables de Bidpai/Pilpay*] των Galland, Pétis de la Croix και Mouton) μεταβάλλονται σε έργα αναφοράς για την πεζογραφική παράδοση του 18ου αι.

Οι μεταφράσεις αυτές συστοιχίζονται με τις πρώτες πρωτότυπες προσπάθειες συγγραφής εκτενών, μη θρησκευτικών μυθιστορηματικών έργων από νεότερους Έλληνες (όπως τα αρχαιόγλωσσα *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα* του Νικολάου Μαυροκορδάτου, β΄ δεκαετία του 18ου αι.) ή προετοιμάζουν το περιεχόμενο, και, κάποτε, και το ύφος των πρώτων δοκιμών συγγραφής νεοελληνικών διηγημάτων ή μυθοπλασιών στην καθομιλουμένη γλώσσα *(Ανώνυμος του 1789, Έρωτος Αποτελέσματα,* 1789-1792). Η έντονη αυτή πεζογραφική διαπίδυση και ζύμωση φαίνεται και αλλού: μαζί με τις πεζές μεταφράσεις των ιστοριών του Νασρεντίν Χότζα (σε αισωπική γλώσσα και ύφος, ίσως όχι αργότερα από το α΄ τέταρτο, και, οπωσδήποτε, όχι αργότερα από το α΄ μισό του 18ου αι.) που φαίνεται πως αποτελούν και την πρώτη συνειδητή προσπάθεια εισαγωγής ανατολικής (τουρκικής) διδακτικής ύλης στο πρόγραμμα της νεοελληνικής σχολικής εκπαίδευσης[6], πρέπει να επισημανθεί η ωφέλιμη συμβολή της ανατολικής πεζογραφικής παράδοσης στα εκτενή έμμετρα έργα του πολυγράφου Κωνσταντίνου/Καισάριου Δαπόντε (μέσα 18ου αι.-περ. 1780), καθώς και η αδιερεύνητη, α-

6. Η δημοσίευση του σχετικού ανέκδοτου υλικού γίνεται σε ξεχωριστό μελέτημά μου (υπό έκδοση στα Πρακτικά της Ε΄ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης του Τομέα ΜΝΕΣ (1992), Τμήμα Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης).

κόμα, αλληλεξάρτηση των πρώτων καθαρά νεοελληνικών ανθολογιών «αστικών», ερωτικών και λυρικών, τραγουδιών (των φαναριώτικων «μισμαγιών» [mecmua]) με τα αντίστοιχά τους τουρκικά, περσικά και αραβικά ομόθεμα στιχουργήματα.

Η ώριμη αυτή προσέγγιση της ανατολικής γραμματείας φαίνεται να κορυφώνεται στα τέλη του 18ου αιώνα. Το 1800 (ή στις αρχές του 1801) πρέπει να τυπώθηκε στη Βενετία, σε ελληνική μετάφραση, η πρώτη αμιγώς τουρκική, και προφανώς ερωτική, μυθιστορία που είδε το φως της δημοσιότητας· η μετάφραση αυτή είναι, για την ώρα, γνωστή μόνο με τον λατινικό τίτλο του πιστοποιητικού της βενετικής λογοκρισίας: *Eventus Rhephae et Michrae*[7]. Αλλά το ευρύ πεδίο των ελληνοανατολικών γραμματειακών επαφών κατά τον 19ο αι. είναι ένα άλλο ζήτημα, που ξεφεύγει από τα όρια της εισήγησης αυτής.

Αν θα θέλαμε να συνοψίσουμε τον ρόλο που έπαιξε η μεταφρασμένη και πρωτότυπη ανατολική πεζογραφική γραμματεία για τη διαμόρφωση και ανάπτυξη της νεοελληνικής πεζογραφίας στην περίοδο που προηγείται πριν από τη δημιουργία του Νεοελληνικού Κράτους (1821-1830), και κυρίως ως τα τέλη του 18ου αι., θα μπορούσαμε να επαναλάβουμε, χρησιμοποιώντας και πάλι μιαν αναπόφευκτη σύγκριση, τα εξής παλαιότερα συμπεράσματά μας:

Η ελληνική μυθοπλαστική, μη θρησκευτική πεζογραφία της περιόδου 11ος-18ος αι., δεν στηρίζεται μόνο στις βαθιές γηγενείς ρίζες της. Επηρεάζεται – συνήθως, όμως, περιφερειακά και μόνον – από την παλαιότερη ή σύγχρονή της δυτικοευρωπαϊκή πεζογραφική παράδοση (και πολύ περισσότερο από τη δυτικοευρωπαϊκή ποίηση, κάτι που φαίνεται και από το ότι σημαντικά δυτικά πεζογραφικά έργα και συλλογές ενδέχεται να αναπλάθονται στα ελληνικά ως έμμετρα και όχι ως πεζά κείμενα, όπως, π.χ., κείμενα του Boccacio, κ.ά.). Σημαντικά έργα της ευρωπαϊκής πεζογραφίας, όπως, π.χ., ο *Δον Κιχώτης* του Cervantes, κ.ά., δεν φαίνεται να είναι διαδεδομένα, ή αρχίζουν να γίνονται γνωστά με σημαντική καθυστέρηση, ως ακόμη και το α΄ μισό του 18ου αι. Μόνον στο β΄ μισό του 18ου αι. παρατηρείται μια δραστικότερη και ταχύτερη επιρροή δυτικοευρωπαϊκών πεζών έργων και προτύπων (όπως, π.χ., ορισμένων έργων του Voltaire, του Fénelon, του Rétif de la Bretonne, κ.ά.).

7. Ετοιμάζω, σε ξεχωριστό άρθρο, ανακοίνωση των αδημοσίευτων ενδείξεων του Archivio di Stato di Venezia που αφορούν το έργο αυτό.

Η υπόθεση εργασίας που προτείνουμε – και η οποία φαίνεται να επαληθεύεται από τα δεδομένα – είναι ότι η παρουσία και η επίδραση της ανατολικής πεζογραφικής παράδοσης αποτελούν αναμφισβήτητη σταθερά της νεοελληνικής πεζογραφίας, από τις απαρχές της (11ος/12ος αι.) κ.ε. Μένει να εξεταστούν οι λόγοι αυτής της έλξης, ο βαθμός γονιμότητας της επιρροής αυτής, οι διακυμάνσεις της και οι αναλογίες της με τη γηγενή (ελληνική) πεζογραφική παράδοση. Και, φυσικά, τα φαινόμενα αντίστροφης κατεύθυνσης, δηλαδή οι οφειλές των ανατολικών γραμματειών στον βυζαντινό και νεοελληνικό παράγοντα.

Αυτός ο γλωσσικός, λογοτεχνικός και πολιτισμικός διάλογος χρειάζεται να περιγραφεί με συστηματικότερο και αναλυτικότερο τρόπο, απ' ό,τι έχει γίνει ως τώρα. Αλλά το σημαντικό αυτό εγχείρημα απαιτεί από τους νεοελληνιστές και τους συγκριτολόγους να εγκαταλείψουν πολλές από τις κυρίαρχες «ελληνοκεντρικές» ή «δυτικοκεντρικές» προκαταλήψεις ή προτιμήσεις τους.

ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

A New Greek Inscription from Northern Jordan

In the course an archaeological field survey in the Jordanian Ḥawrān in June, 1985[1], a number of previously unpublished inscriptions were recorded. Most were tombstones in Greek and/or Nabataean and one a Latin military text. Another, however, a privately dedicated building inscription in Greek[2], was discovered in the village of Umm al-Quṭṭayn, a one-time Nabatean – Early Islamic settlement at the center of the survey area. Quṭṭayn lies some twenty km south-east of Bostra, the provincial capital of Roman Arabia. In general form and content the inscription is similar to many found in the same region, all of which will eventually be incorporated in a new collection of inscriptions of Jordan[3] to complement the corpus for the Syrian Ḥawrān[4].

This new inscription, though written in Greek, demonstrates clearly that those responsible for producing it were Arabs of the village in which it was found. It is too large and heavy to be transported, and the shape precludes its use as anything but a building stone. The personal names will be of interest to readers of this journal. Below I offer a facsimile sketch of the text based on the photograph (see Plate at end), a paper impression and autopsy of the stone:

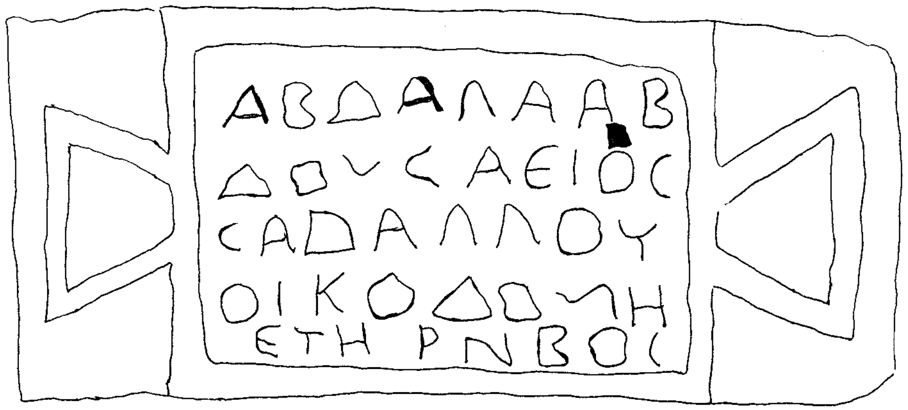
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1. Kennedy et al. (1986), in press. I would like to thank David Kennedy for comments and criticism during the preparation of this article.

2. Thanks are due to Dr. Adnan Hadidi, Director General of the Antiquities Department, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, for permission to publish this inscription.

3. *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de Jordanie,* produced under the general editorship of Pierre-Louis Gatier. Vol. I: (Ammonitide) will be edited by Gatier and Jean Marceillet-Jaubert; Vol. II: (Arabie Petrée) will be edited by Maurice Sartre and Fawzi Zayaddine. For a brief review of this work in progress, see Gatier (1982). Our inscription has been made available to the editors of *IGLJ* for inclusion in the corpus.

4. Sartre (1982). Four separate fascicles of *IGLS* XIII will collect the inscriptions from the other regions of southern Syria: the Hawrān plain, the Lejā, the Jebal Drūz and the Golan.



The stone was found nearly completely buried amid the debris in a court-yard between two modern houses (now abandoned) just 50 m. north-west of a late Roman/Byzantine monastery or convent discovered and described by the Princeton Expedition at the beginning of this century[5]. Only the upper righthand edge of the dovetail was visible until the block was excavated. The five-line Greek inscription is carved on a black basalt block which had been smoothed on the outside surface prior to being inscribed. The stone lies near a low modern wall and is virtually undamaged[6]. The inscription is set completely within a raised dovetail frame (see the plate) and is quite well preserved.

Dimensions of the block: length = 87 cm; width = 43 cm; thickness = 40 cm (the back of the block, roughly cut, comes to a point). The panel on which the text is inscribed is set 4 cm from the top edge and 7 cm from the bottom. The outer edges of the dovetails are 4 cm from the left and right edges of the block. The left and right edges of the panel are 19.5 cm from the corresponding ends of the block. The inset panel measures 48 cm x 32 cm. The average height of letters in lines 1-4 is 4-5 cm; the letters in the bottom line are 3 cm in height on average. The lettering is shallow and somewhat carelessly done; there are abbreviations of words in lines 4 and 5.

5. Butler (1919: 139-141, Illus. 120-121).

6. The block is so large and heavy that even four of our team could not move it. Consequently, its position meant that it remained in poor light for most of the day. Photos were taken in the early morning and late afternoon of two or three consecutive days, when the contrast was most favorable for reading. Several paper "squeezes" were also made.

Transcription and Expansion	*Translation*
ΑΒΔΑΛΑ ẠΒ ΔΟΥ CΑΕΙΟ̣C C̣ΑΔΑΛΛΟΥ̣ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜ̣Η ΕΤΗ ΡΝ ΒΟ̣C̣	ᶜAbdullāh (the son) of ᶜAbd, (and) Shayᶜ (the son) of Saᶜdallāh. They built (this).
Αβδάλα Αβ- δοῦ, Σαεῖος Σαδαλλοῦ, οικοδόμη(σαν). Ἔτη ρν΄ Βοσ(τρηνῶν) or Βοσ(τρῆς)	In the year 160 of the Bostrans (or "of Bostra") = AD 265/266.

Commentary:

Line 1: There is a small pit mark in the stone at the left edge of the delta. The last two letters of the line are indistinct, but became visible in certain light. The squeeze shows traces of only the final beta.

Line 2: The stone is pitted at the bottom of the initial sigma and above the final omicron. Only the upper half of the upsilon is visible, and that is all that shows on the squeeze. The penultimate letter is logically an omicron, although only the bottom third of a loop is visible.

Line 3: The initial sigma and the upsilon at the end are quite indistinct. There is a pit in the stone above the top left of the delta.

Line 4: The final three letters are poorly preserved. The mu is twice the size of any other letter and extremely ill-formed. The omicron preceeding it is badly worn. It appears that the inscriber began to realize there would not be enough space for the full text; hence the abbreviation of the verb and the reduction of letter size in the following line.

Line 5: At first examination the date appeared to be *PNB* (i.e. the year 162 = A.D. 267/268). The *nu* is stretched horizontially and badly formed, much like the *mu* in the preceeding line. There seemed to be no letters following the beta, but traces of an omicron and sigma appeared on the squeeze and are faintly visible on the stone in certain light. The abbreviation BOC here is not very common as part of the dating formula (on this, see below).

The personal names in this inscription are all attested in the region of southern Syria-northern Jordan, and occasionally elsewhere.

1. *ABDALA*— Variants of spelling include Abdal(l)as, Abdal(l)os and Abdella. The Princeton Expeditions recorded four inscriptions (none

dated) in which the name appears;[7] all were from villages in the Ḥawrān. The name has also been recorded at Mushannaf in the Jebal Drūz,[8] at Hebron[9] in the West Bank and at Ḥammat Gader in north-eastern Israel[10] (AD 662). It is the common theophoric compound ᶜbd (servant, slave) linked with the deity 'lh (Allāh). It has been found in the epigraphy of interior Arabia; cf. Ryckmans I (1934: 241). It occurs in Safaitic texts as ᶜbdlh and as ᶜbd'lh; cf. Harding (1971: 397 and 400 respectively). For ᶜbd'lh and ᶜbd'lhy in Nabataean, see Cantineau II (1933: 126). A modified form of the name in Greek occurs at Bostra; cf. Sartre (1982: 9264 [undated]). See the same author's useful comments in the onomastic index to Sartre (1985: 166 [s.v. Abdolakhos]). The new inscription is thus the earliest dated attestation in Greek of this venerable name.

2. *ABDOS*— This name appears frequently in the epigraphy of the Ḥawrān[11] and in its feminine form (ABDAS) it has been recorded at Petra and Dura-Europus.[12] It is one of the most common elements in Semitic names linked with divinities, but occasionally, as here, it appears as a name in its own right.

3. *SAEIOS*— This appears to be a unique spelling of the name. It is Arabic Shayᶜ (Follower), which appears most frequently transliterated into Greek as Saios[13] but is probably also attested in Greek as Seas, Seos, Seos, Sieos, Soaos (?), Soeis (?) and Soeos. It occurs in Safaitic as syᶜ (Harding [1971: 364]), in Nabataean as šᶜyw (Cantineau II [1933: 153]) and in Palmyrene as šyᶜn (Stark [1971: 51 & 114]). It is also attested as the first element in the theophoric compound Shayᶜch-Qawm (Ryckmans [1934/35: 34]). For a discussion of the deity Qawm, see Sourdel (1952: 81-84).

4. *SADALLOS*— This is the second name in the inscription to include the deity Allāh in a theophoric compound. The initial element of the name, sᶜd (happy) is almost as common as ᶜbd. Variations on it in Greek are Sadalas, Sadaalos, Sadalos and Sadallas, noted in Sartre (1985: 234). It is found in Safaitic as sᶜdlh (Harding [1971: 319]) and in Nabataean as sᶜd'lhy and sᶜdlh (Cantineau II [1933: 152-153]). The variant Greek spellings Sadelos, Saddelos, Sadeilos and Sadelos, as Sartre (1985: 235) notes, more accurately transcribe Saᶜd'el, i.e. a theophoric compound incorporating the deity 'l (E1).

7. Wüntnow (1930: 7).
8. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* VII 1077.
9. SEG VIII 240.
10. SEG XXX 1687.
11. Wünthnow (1930: 8).
12. Wünthnow (1930: 7), to which add SEG VII 710.
13. Wünthnow (1930: 102) and add SEG VII 1012.

The Era of Bostra

If my reading of the end of the final line is correct, it is only the third attestation of the *aera Bostrensis* as such in Greek. The other two examples are Waddington (1870) 2088 from ᶜAmra in the Ḥawrān (dated "the year 433, indiction 1 [i.e. between 22 March and 31 August 538] κατὰ Βόστρα) and 2462 from Ḥarrān in the Lejā ("the year 292 τῆς Βοστρηνῶν indiction 10 [i.e. between 22 March and 31 August 397]). It is important to note that a companion inscription (Wadd. 2463) to the latter, from the same village, is dated "in the year 292 τῆς ἐπαρχίας, indiction 11 (between 1 September 397 and 21 March 398). The fact that the year number is the same, whether provincial or Bostran, is conclusive proof that the two calendar systems were used interchangeably and simultaneously. Since provincia Arabia was partitioned c. AD 300 it has been suggested that the use of the Bostran era by name is somehow connected with this event and posterior to it. The new inscription disproves this conclusively. Apart from these, the only other allusion to Bostra in dating an inscription occurs in the Nabataean half of a bi-lingual text from Madaba in central Jordan.[14] The final line of each text reads:

ἔτους τρίτου ἐπαρχείας
("the year three of the eparcheia [i.e. provincia])
bšnt tlt lhprk Bṣr'
("in the year three of the eparch [i.e. governor] at Bostra")

I have recently summarized some of the problems regarding the era of the provincia Arabia,[15] and Philip Freeman had demonstrated that the interpretation of the dating systems in use throughout that province, including its own era, can lead to unwarranted difficulties if such calendars are thought to have more than "a limited, localized purpose."[16] Since no one calendrical system seems to have superseded all others as the "official" method of dating, the era of Bostra in this inscription, as in the two others noted above, is simply a variation of the provincial era. There is no reason to expect the *aera Bostrensis* to

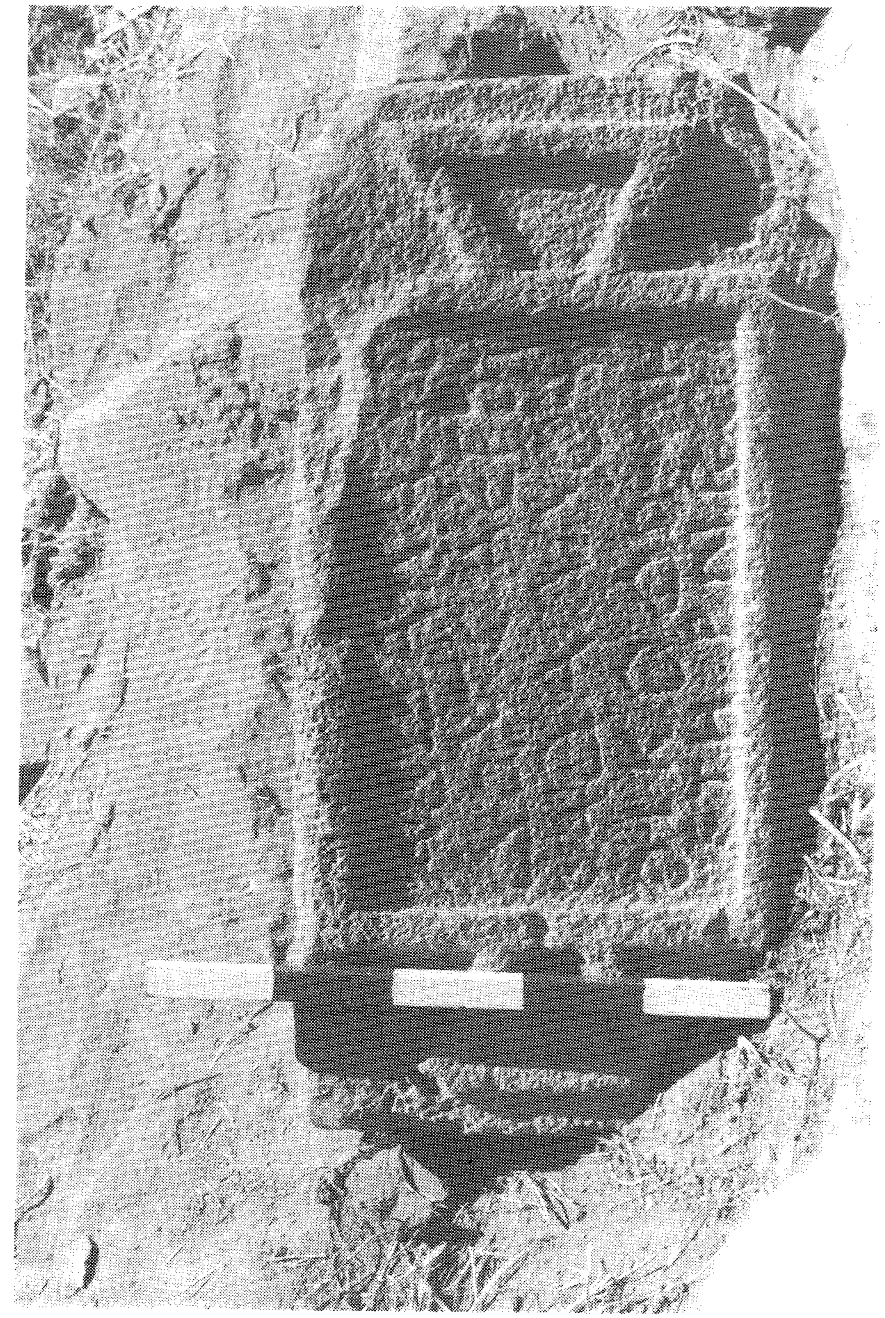
14. Milik (1958: 243-246).
15. MacAdam (1986: 34-37).
16. Freeman (1986: 28-46 at 46).

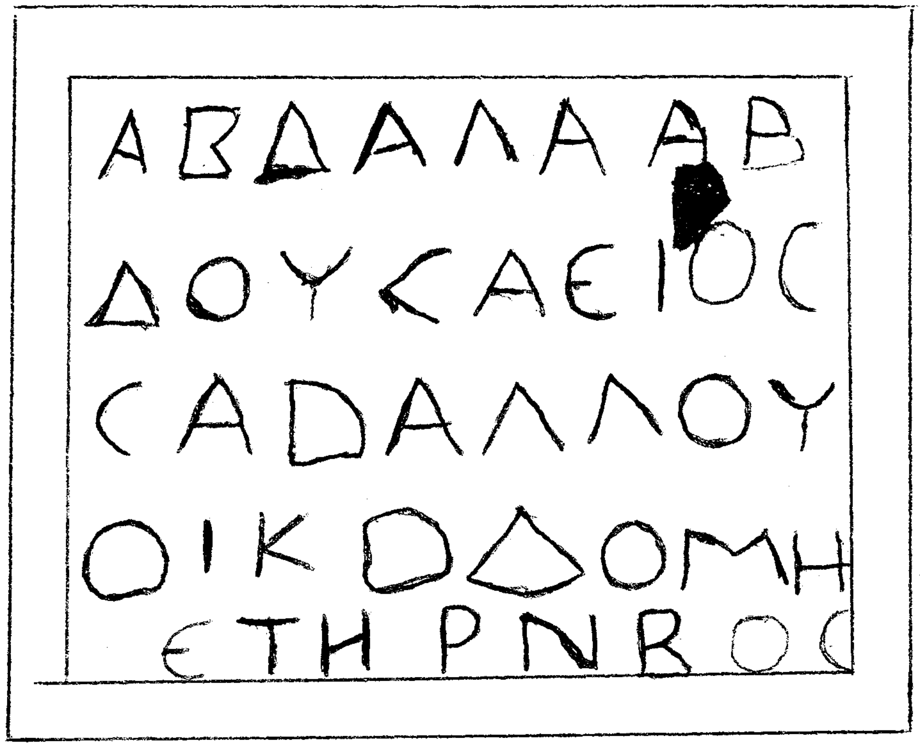
appear in the epigraphy of the capital city itself. Recent publications of the Greek and Latin inscriptions from Bostra, and a narrative history of that city, clearly demonstrate that neither the Bostran nor the provincial era was referred to by name.[17]

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POSTSCRIPT. While this article was in press a new study of the Bostran era has been published: Z.T. Fiema, "The Era of Bostra: A Reconsideration" in *XXXV Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (Ravenna, 19/26 marzo 1988), Ravenna, Edizioni del Girasole (1988) pp. 109-120. In it the author argues for abandoning completely the term "Era of Bostra" and using only "Era of Arabia" since there are only three examples in which explicit reference is made to Bostra or Bostrans. He has had access to the text of this article in typescript.

17. Sartre (1982) and (1985).





Σχετικά με την καινούρια έκδοση του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα

Το μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα ανήκει στο γραμματειακό βυζαντινό είδος που σήμερα παρουσιάζει τις περισσότερες δυσκολίες.[1] Τα μαρτύρια τα οποία μέχρι και τον 6ο αιώνα ανθούν, γνώρισαν πολλές αλλοιώσεις δια μέσου των αιώνων με αποτέλεσμα η σημερινή μορφή τους λίγο να έχει να κάνει με την αρχική μορφή του κειμένου.

Από την άποψη αυτή κλασικό παράδειγμα είναι το μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα. Το κείμενο μας σώζεται, εκτός από τα πολυάριθμα χειρόγραφα με τη μετάφραση του Συμεώνα του μεταφραστή, σε δύο ομάδες χειρογράφων:

α) Στο χειρόγραφο Vind. hist. gr. 114 (Στο εξής "ομάδα Α").

β) Στα χειρόγραφα Par. gr. 1454 και Par. gr. 1537 (Στο εξής "ομάδα Β").[2]

Το κείμενο μας μεταφέρει το πρώτο τέταρτο του 6ου αιώνα στην περιοχή της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης και ειδικότερα στην Αιθιοπία, "το βασίλειο του Αξούμ" από την τότε πρωτεύουσα της Αιθιοπίας Αξούμ,[3] και τη Ν.Δ. Αραβία, η οποία ονομάζεται "χώρα των Ομηριτών" από το όνομα των κατοίκων της. Την εποχή που διαδραματίζονται τα γεγονότα που θα εξετάσομε ο Ιουδαϊσμός υπερέχει συντριπτικά στη χώρα των

1. H.G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (München, 1959) 267 κ.εξ., όπου και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

2. Το μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα έχει εκδοθεί τον περασμένο αιώνα δύο φορές:

α) Acta Sanctorum, Martyrium sancti Arethae et sociorum in civitate Negran, Octobris X (Bruxellis, 1861) 721-759: στο εξής AASS.

β) J.F. Boissonade, Anecdota Graeca V (Parisiis, 1833) 1-61: στο εξής Boissonade.

Πρέπει όμως να αναφερθεί ότι και οι δύο αυτές εκδόσεις στηρίζονται στα χειρόγραφα της ομάδας Β.

3. Photius Bibliothèque I, ed. Renè Henny (Paris, 1959) 5: "Ἡ δὲ Ἀξούμη πόλις ἐστὶ μεγίστη καὶ οἷον μητρόπολις ὅλης τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, κεῖται δὲ μεσημβρινωτέρα καὶ ἀνατολικωτέρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς."

Ομηριτών του Χριστιανισμού. Οι χριστιανοί σύμφωνα με το μαρτύριο περιορίζονταν στην πόλη Νεγράν, που θα αποτελέσει και τη σκηνή των επεισοδίων του μαρτυρίου.[4] Σε αντίθεση, οι κάτοικοι της Αιθιοπίας ήταν χριστιανοί με αποτέλεσμα οι πολεμικές συγκρούσεις μεταξύ των δύο λαών να είναι διαρκείς.[5]

Η δομή του κειμένου έχει ως εξής:

1) Τοπική και χρονολογική τοποθέτηση καθώς και εξιστόρηση των πολεμικών γεγονότων που προηγήθηκαν της πολιορκίας της πόλεως Νεγράν. Εδώ οφείλομε να αναφέρομε ότι δε γίνεται απλά κάποια γραπτή μνεία των τόπων που θα διαδραματιστούν τα γεγονότα. Η χώρα των Ομηριτών και η χώρα των Αιθιόπων τοποθετούνται σε συνάρτηση με την Ινδική χώρα. Η προτίμηση αυτή δε φαίνεται να είναι τυχαία: "'Η δὲ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα, ὅθεν τὰ ἀρώματα καὶ τὸ πέπερι, καὶ ἡ μέταξις καὶ ὁ πολύτιμος μαργαρίτης ἐξέρχεται, ἀπέχει μονὰς τριάκοντα· ἡ δὲ Αἰθιοπία τοῦ Ὁμηρίτου, μονὰς τριάκοντα· ἡ δὲ Ῥωμανία, ἐκ βορρᾶ τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας, μίλια ἑξήκοντα· ὥστε διοδεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων χώρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁμηρίτην διὰ θαλάσσης· ἀπὸ Ῥωμανίας ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁμηρίτην· ἔστι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ θάλασσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρίτου ἐπὶ Ἰνδίαν, καὶ μέχρι Περσίδος".[6] Δε φαίνεται δηλαδή να ξεχνά σε καμιά περίπτωση ο συγγραφέας τον εμπορικό ρόλο και την εμπορική θέση κάθε μιάς από τις δύο αυτές χώρες.

Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τη χρονολόγηση. Η αρχή των γεγονότων τοποθετείται χρονολογικά όχι απλά με την αναγραφή κάποιας χρονολογίας αλλά δίνεται α) το έτος βασιλείας του βυζαντινού αυτοκράτορα β) η ινδικτιώνα γ) η αντιοχειανή χρονολόγηση δ) ο μήνας και ε) αναφέρονται ονομαστικά οι τέσσερις πατριάρχες (εξαιρείται ο Ρώμης).[7] Πρέπει επίσης να τονιστεί ότι η χρονολόγηση των γεγονότων του μαρτυρίου γίνεται από το συγγραφέα με εξαιρετική ακρίβεια.[8]

2) Πολιορκία της πόλεως Νεγράν από το βασιλιά των Ομηριτών Δουναάν και παράδοση της πόλης

4. Isrun Engelhardt, Mission und Politik in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians, Miscellanea Byzantina Monarcensia 19 (1974) 28-31.

5. α) D. Letsios, Die äthiopisch- himyaritischen Kriege des 6. Jahrhunderts und die Christianisierung Äthiopiens, JÖB 41 (1991) 25-41.

6. AASS 722 E = Boissonade 4-5.

7. AASS 721 C = Boissonade 1-2.

8. Σχετικά με την ακρίβεια της χρονολόγησης βλ. α) AASS 721 C, 722 F, 743 B, 747 A.
β) Y. Shitomi, Note sur la Martyrium Arethae §20: Date de la Persécution de Negran, Le Museon 100-Fasc. 1-4 (1987) 315-321.

3α) Επεισόδιο του άρχοντα Ζεειδός (μόνο στην ομάδα Α)

3β) Επεισόδιο "τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων τῶν πρωταρχῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δέκα κανονικῶν"

3γ) Επεισόδιο "τῆς πρωτευούσης ἁπάσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δύο θυγατέρων της"

3δ) Επεισόδιο του αγίου Αρέθα

3ε) Επεισόδιο κάποιας ανώνυμης χριστιανής γυναίκας και του παιδιού της

4) Εγκώμιο της πόλεως Νεγράν.

Εδώ τελειώνει το μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα με βάση την ομάδα Α των χειρογράφων. Η ομάδα Β μας παραδίδει τα εξής επί πλέον:

5) Διπλωματικό επεισόδιο – θεολογική συζήτηση στην αυλή του Αλαμούνδαρου "βασιλίσκου πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ Πέρσας Σαρακηνῶν"

6) Επιστολές του αυτοκράτορα Ιουστίνου Α΄ προς το βασιλέα των Αιθιόπων Ελεσβάς και τον πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας

7) Περιγραφή της νικηφόρας εκστρατείας του Ελεσβάς, της ήττας του Δουναάν καθώς και της απελευθέρωσης της πόλεως Νεγράν

8) Επίλογος

Αν τώρα πλησιάσομε ακόμα περισσότερο εντοπίζομε τις εξής διαφορές μεταξύ των δύο ομάδων χειρογράφων

Α) Η πρώτη διαφορά αφορά την παράδοση της πόλεως Νεγράν:

1) Στην ομάδα Β η περιγραφή είναι ως εξής:[9]

α) Ο βασιλιάς των Ομηριτών Δουναάν συλλαμβάνει όλους εκείνους που ήταν στους αγρούς γύρω από την πόλη Νεγράν, από τους οποίους άλλους (τους ελεύθερους αγρότες;) σκοτώνει και άλλους ("τοὺς δὲ δούλους" αναφέρεται ρητά στο κείμενο) εξανδραποδίζει προς όφελος δικό του και της αυλής του

β) Δηλώνει πως η είσοδός του στην πόλη δε σημαίνει ότι θα προσπαθήσει να αλλαξοπιστήσει τους κατοίκους ή ότι θα πάθει κανείς τίποτε, απλά θέλει να γνωρίσει την πόλη ("καὶ εἰσελθεῖν ἱστορίας χάριν") και θα επιβάλλει κάποιο κεφαλικό φόρο για 1 έτος.

2) Στην ομάδα Α η περιγραφή είναι τελείως διαφορετική:[10]

Εν συντομία, σχεδόν μονολεκτικά, παρουσιάζεται ο Δουναάν να υπόσχεται στους κατοίκους της Νεγράν, ότι κανείς δε θα πάθει τίποτα αν η πόλη του παραδοθεί οικειοθελώς.

Στην ομάδα Β θα έλεγε κανείς πως γίνεται η προσπάθεια να φορτι-

9. AASS 723 B = Boissonade 7-8.

10. Vind. hist. gr. 114, 24^v.

σθεί αρνητικά ο αναγνώστης όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερο απέναντι στο Δουναάν: Δεν παρουσιάζεται μόνο σα δόλιος και επίορκος αλλά με την εξόντωση και τον εξανδραποδισμό όλων όσων δούλευαν στα κτήματα γύρω από την πόλη προϊδεάζεται και προκαταλαμβάνεται ο αναγνώστης για τα μελλοντικά έργα. Στην ομάδα Α απλά αναφέρεται πως έγινε η παράδοση χωρίς να δίνεται ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα ούτε καν στις ψευδείς υποσχέσεις του Δουναάν.

Β) Η δεύτερη διαφορά μεταξύ των δύο ομάδων είναι καθαρά θεολογικής φύσεως:

Και στις δύο ομάδες η δεύτερη ημέρα της άλωσης της πόλεως Νεγράν αρχίζει με τον ίδιο τρόπο: Ο Δουναάν συγκεντρώνει το σύνολο του κλήρου της πόλης (ιερείς, διακόνους, μοναχούς, μοναχές, ψάλτριες) τους οποίους "...πάντας ἀνεξετάστως κατέκαυσεν, ἐκφοβῆσαι θέλων καὶ δειλανδρῆσαι τοὺς λοιποὺς χριστιανούς. Ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ καυθέντες, ψυχαὶ τετρακόσιαι εἴκοσιεπτά."[11] Έπειτα αφού οδηγείται δέσμιος μπροστά στο βασιλιά και την αυλή του ο Αρέθας και οι άλλοι αρχηγοί της πόλης, κήρυκες αρχίζουν να παρακινούν τους κατοίκους της πόλης να αρνηθούν το Χριστό, να πάψουν να λατρεύουν τον Ιησού σα Θεό, να απορίψουν το δεύτερο πρόσωπο της Τριάδος. Στην άρνηση των Νεγρανιτών να υποταχθούν αντιτάσσεται το επιχείρημα: "Διατὶ οὖν ὑμεῖς πλανᾶσθε ὀπίσω τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; μὴ βελτίονες ἐστὲ τῶν λεγομένων Νεστοριανῶν, οἵτινες εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, καὶ δὴ λέγουσιν ὅτι Θεὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ προφήτην Θεοῦ."[12] Στο σημείο αυτό δύο στοιχεία πρέπει να τονιστούν: α) Μνεία Νεστοριανών στη χώρα των Ομηριτών, και β) Τελείως ξαφνικά οι Ομηρίτες παρουσιάζονται σαν υπερασπιστές του νεστοριανισμού και διώκτες της ορθοδοξίας ενώ οι Νεγρανίτες όχι απλά σαν χριστιανοί αλλά σα χριστιανοί ορθόδοξοι. Από αυτό το σημείο αρχίζει η διαφοροποίηση.

Στην ομάδα Α υπάρχει το επεισόδιο του Ζεειδός και του Αειθαλά.[13] Ο Ζεειδός, άρχοντας της πόλεως Νεγράν, επώνυμα και εν εκτάσει, εν ονόματι του συνόλου των κατοίκων της πόλης, κάνει την προσπάθεια να υπερασπιστεί τη χριστιανική πίστη όπως δογματικά διαμορφώθηκε στις συνόδους της Εφέσου και της Χαλκηδόνας. Δηλώνει κατηγορηματικά ότι τόσο αυτός όσο και οι υπόλοιποι Νεγρανίτες δεν ακολουθούν το δόγμα του Νεστορίου και ο λόγος είναι ότι από την ίδια τη ζωή

11. AASS 728 D = Boissonade 10-11.
12. AASS 728 E = Boissonade 11.
13. Vind. hist. gr. 114, 34^v-35^v.

του ο Ιησούς αποδεικνύει ότι υπήρξε και Θεός και άνθρωπος. Μετά το πέρας του λόγου του Ζεειδός εμφανίζεται ο Αειθαλάς, ο πρώτος της συγκλήτου των Ομηριτών, να υπερασπίζεται αυτός με τη σειρά του τον άρχοντα Ζεειδός και τους Νεγρανίτες μπροστά στο Δουναάν. Λέει ειδικότερα, ότι έχει πειστεί για την ορθότητα της σκέψης των ορθοδόξων. Απαντώντας ο Δουναάν κατηγορεί τον Αειθαλά, πως ενώ ήταν Νεστοριανός πλανήθηκε από τα λόγια του Ζεειδός. Ο Αειθαλάς ανταπαντώντας δέχεται ότι ήταν Νεστοριανός δηλώνοντας όμως ότι στο εξής θα προσχωρήσει στην ορθοδοξία και θα προσπαθήσει να πείσει όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερους να ακολουθήσουν το παράδειγμά του: "αἱρετόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν".[14]

Στην ομάδα Β η υπεράπιση του ορθόδοξου δόγματος γίνεται ανώνυμα από κάποιους Νεγρανίτες. Η έκτασή της είναι σαφώς περιορισμένη ενώ ένα μέρος της ευρίσκεται κατά λέξη στο χφ. της ομάδας Α. Η υπεράσπιση σε αυτή την περίπτωση είναι ισχνή και δίνει την εντύπωση απαγγελίας ενός χωρίου κάποιου θεολογικού βιβλίου.

Και οι δύο παραλλαγές του μαρτυρίου δεν αφίνουν σε αυτή την περίπτωση καμία αμφιβολία ότι ο χαρακτήρας του κειμένου είναι έντονα ορθόδοξος. Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις προβάλλεται σα σωστή η ορθόδοξη άποψη. Το ερώτημα γεννιέται σχετικά με τους Ομηρίτες: Ήταν όλοι Εβραίοι ή υπήρχαν μεταξύ τους Νεστοριανοί προσηλυτισμένοι από τους ιεραποστόλους αυτού του δόγματος που όπως γνωρίζομε από το ίδιο το μαρτύριο υπήρχαν στη χώρα των Ομηριτών; Κι αν υπήρχαν Νεστοριανοί σε τι ποσοστό πρέπει να υπήρχαν; Ο Αειθαλάς πάντως: α) είναι υψηλής καταγωγής και β) μιλάει και για άλλους που φρονούν τα του Νεστορίου.

Ας σημειωθεί επίσης ότι ο τρόπος υπεράσπισης του ορθόδοξου δόγματος από τον άρχοντα Ζεειδός είναι αρκετά αξιοπρόσεκτος. Τα επιχειρήματα που αναπτύσσει έχουν όλη την απλότητα της σκέψης ενός ανθρώπου που δεν έχει σχέση με τα φιλοσοφικά και θεολογικά επιχειρήματα που χρησιμοποιεί και την ορολογία που αναπτύσσει η ορθόδοξη πλευρά τον Δ΄ και Ε΄ αιώνα προκειμένου να αποδειχθεί, ότι οι δύο αδιαίρετες και αχώριστες φύσεις στο Χριστό παρά την τέλεια ένωσή τους σε μία υπόσταση διασώζουν η καθεμία ακέραιες τις ιδιότητές της. Σαφώς και εδώ τίθεται και το θέμα της υποδοχής των θεολογικών δογμάτων από τις λαϊκές μάζες.[15]

14. Vind. hist. gr. 114, 34^v.
15. W.H.C. Frend, Popular Religion and Christological Controversy in the fifth Century, Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries [Variorum Reprints] (London 1976) 19-29.

Ενώ τώρα το εγκώμιο της πόλεως Νεγράν αποτελεί τον επίλογο για τα χειρόγραφα της ομάδας Α, η ομάδα Β, όπως προαναφέραμε, συνεχίζει. Η συνέχεια αυτή κάπως αναλυτικότερα έχει ως εξής:

1) Το σκηνικό μεταφέρεται στην αυλή του Αλαμανούνδαρου του "βασιλίσκου" των Σαρακηνών της Περσίας. Εκεί πραγματοποιείται η συνάντηση των βυζαντινών πρεσβευτών με επικεφαλής τον Αβράμιο "τὸν εὐλαβέστατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον πρεσβύτερον", των αντιπροσώπων των ορθοδόξων χριστιανών της Περσίας με επικεφαλής τον "πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀποκρισιάριον τῶν ὀρθοδόξων τῶν ἐν Περσίδι χριστιανῶν" Συμεώνιο και του επισκόπου των νεστοριανών της Περσίας Σίλα με απεσταλμένους του Δουναάν οι οποίοι είχαν εντολή να προτρέψουν τον Αλαμούνδαρο να κηρύξει διωγμό των χριστιανών στην επικράτειά του, υποσχόμενοι μάλιστα στην περίπτωση αυτή και χρηματική ενίσχυση του Αλαμούνδαρου από το Δουναάν.[16] Σ' αυτό το σημείο, όσον αφορά τα χειρόγραφα της ομάδας Β, υπάρχει ένας "αγώνας λόγων" μεταξύ του πρεσβευτή των Βυζαντινών Αβράμιου και του επισκόπου νεστοριανών χριστιανών της Περσίας Σίλα σχετικά με την ορθότητα ή μη των νεστοριανών απόψεων. Ξαφνικά δηλαδή η αυλή του Αλαμούνδαρου γίνεται η σκηνή αναμέτρησης των δύο δογμάτων, ορθόδοξου και νεστοριανού, εκφραστές των οποίων είναι ο βυζαντινός πρεσβευτής Αβράμιος και ο νεστοριανός επίσκοπος Σίλας. Η όλη σκηνή παρεμβάλλεται αρκετά ασύνδετη στο κείμενο, στο οποίο μέχρι του σημείου αυτού οι νήξεις που αφορούν το νεστοριανισμό δεν ήταν ούτε τόσο απροκάλυπτες ούτε γίνεται η προσπάθεια να κατοχυρωθούν δογματικά. Αυτός ο αγώνας λόγων φέρνει στη μνήμη μας το επεισόδιο του Ζεειδός, μόνο που σε αυτή την περίπτωση δεν υπάρχει τόση ζωντάνια και αμεσότητα.[17] Το επεισόδιο τελειώνει δίνοντας την εντύπωση ότι η βυζαντινή διπλωματία εξασφάλισε μια ακόμα νίκη κατορθώνοντας να πείσει τον Αλαμούνδαρο να μην κηρύξει διωγμό των ορθοδόξων χριστιανών.

2) Οι πρεσβευτές πληροφορούν τον αυτοκράτορα Ιουστίνο Α΄ (518-527) για τα γεγονότα και από αυτή τη στιγμή αρχίζει ουσιαστικά η ανάμειξη του βυζαντινού αυτοκράτορα στα πράγματα της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης. Ο αυτοκράτορας γράφει δύο επιστολές: μία επιστολή στον πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας παρακινώντας τον να παρακινήσει και αυτός τον Ελεσβάς να εκστρατεύσει εναντίον του Δουναάν και μία στο βασιλιά των Αιθιόπων Ελεσβάς παρακινώντας τον να εκστρατεύσει εναντίον του Δουναάν, να τον τιμωρήσει και να απελευθερώσει την πόλη Νεγράν.

Πατριάρχης Αλεξανδρείας την εποχή εκείνη ήταν ο Τιμόθεος (517-535),[18] ο οποίος πρέπει να επισημάνομε ήταν μονοφυσίτης. Όπως γράφει το μαρτύριο λίγο πιο κάτω ο πατριάρχης μετά την αυτοκρατορική επιστολή κήρυξε σταυροφορία εναντίον του Δουναάν:[19] συγκέντρωσε ασκητές, έκανε λιτανεία και αγρυπνία και έστειλε τη θεία μετάληψη στον Ελεσβάς παραγγέλλοντάς του να τιμωρήσει τον άπιστο Δουναάν όπως οι βιβλικοί ήρωες τιμωρούσαν τους άπιστους. Η εικόνα που μας παραδίδει το μαρτύριο – ο μονοφυσίτης πατριάρχης Αλεξανδρείας να συνεργάζεται αρμονικότατα με τον ορθόδοξο βυζαντινό αυτοκράτορα – κάθε άλλο παρά εξυπακούεται. Μία προσεκτικότερη εξέταση του όλου θέματος είναι απαραίτητη προκειμένου να εξακριβωθεί η ιστορική αλήθεια των περιγραφομένων γεγονότων.[20]

Όσον αφορά το γράμμα που υπάρχει στο κείμενο του μαρτυρίου σα γράμμα του αυτοκράτορα Ιουστίνου Α΄ στον Ελεσβά μας πείθει ευθύς εξ αρχής ότι ο συντάκτης του γράμματος γνώριζε αρκετά καλά και με ακρίβεια πως συνέτασσε μια αυτοκρατορική επιστολή η βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορική γραμματεία. Δεν τολμώ να πω ότι ο συγγραφέας μας είχε δει ένα γράμμα του αυτοκράτορα προς τον Ελεσβάς, είναι όμως σίγουρο ότι γνώριζε πολύ καλά τα σχετικά με τη σύνταξη μιας αυτοκρατορικής επιστολής και ίσως μάλιστα και ο ίδιος να είχε συμμετάσχει στη σύνταξη παρόμοιων επιστολών. Το ύφος της επιστολής, η διάρθρωσή της με πρόλογο, κυρίως θέμα και επίλογο και ανάλογο καταμερισμό των θεμάτων σε κάθε τμήμα της επιστολής οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα πως ο συγγραφέας πρέπει να είχε επαφή με τη βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορική γραμματεία της Κωνσταντινούπολης.[21]

16. Σχετικά με τη συνάντηση αυτή στην αυλή του Αλαμούνδαρου βλ. I. Shahid, Byzantino-Arabica. The Conference of Rambla, A.D. 524, Journal of Near East Studies 23 (1964) 115-131.

17. Και σε αυτό το σημείο μελλοντικά – στην καινούρια έκδοση του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα – θα γίνει εκτενής αναφορά. Είναι αξιοπρόσεκτο ότι ο Αβράμιος μιλά σαν τέλειος γνώστης των δογματικών δεδομένων της εποχής του. Έχει κανείς την εντύπωση "ακούγοντας" τον να μιλάει, ότι διαβάζει κάποιο απόσπασμα πρακτικών των συνόδων της εποχής.

18. Timotheos, RE LX, col. 1357-1358.

19. α) AASS 743 B = Boissonade 43-44.

β) Engelhardt, Mission und Politik, 33 "...Brachen die Truppen zu einem Kreuzzugsartigen Krieg gegen du Nuwas auf und zwar nach einem Gottesdienst und nachdem Kaleb sich vorher bei dem heiligen Pantaleon einen der Neun Heiligen, Rat und Segen gehabt hatte."

20. G. Fiaccadori, Proterio, Asterio e Timoteo Patriarchi. Note di storiografia alessandrina, EVO 3 (1980) 299-315.

21. α) Η επιστολή βρίσκεται AASS 743 A = Boissonade 41-43.

β) Σχετικά με τις αυτοκρατορικές επιστολές: Dölger-Karayannopulos, Byzantinischen Urkundenlehre. Erster Abschnitt. Die Kaiserurkunden (München, 1968) 89-94.

3) Ακολουθεί η περιγραφή του πολέμου Αξουμιτών και των Ομηριτών, με τόσες λεπτομέρειες σχετικές με τα πλοία και τη ναυσιπλοΐα στην Ερυθρά Θάλασσα που κανείς είναι σχεδόν βέβαιος πως ο συγγραφέας υπήρξε αυτόπτης μάρτυρας. Πως έγινε αποβίβαση Αιθιόπων στη χώρα των Ομηριτών, τοπωνύμια, λεπτομέρειες σχετικές με την κατασκευή των πλοίων, ακριβέστατη περιγραφή των συγκρούσεων μας πείθουν για την παρουσία του συγγραφέα ενώ διαδραματίζονταν τα γεγονότα ή σε χρονικό διάστημα που είναι γειτονικό με τα γεγονότα. Παρουσιάζω δύο χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα:

α) "Καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος, εἰσῆλθεν πλοῖα τῶν ἐμπόρων Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Αἰθιόπων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νήσων Φαρσὰν, ἑξήκοντα οὕτως, ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀειλὰ τῆς πόλεως πλοῖα δεκαπέντε, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλύσματος εἴκοσι, ἀπὸ Ἰωταβῆς ἑπτὰ, ἀπὸ Βερωνίκης δύο, ἀπὸ τῆς Φαρσὰν ἑπτὰ, ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας ἐννέα".[22]

β) "Καὶ συναγάγοντες πάντα τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ δήσαντες πλοῖον πρὸς πλοῖον, λύσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἱστοὺς καὶ τὰ κερατάρια καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας, καὶ τὰ εὐμήκη λοιπὰ ξύλα, διεστοίβασαν δήσαντες σχοινίοις ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν πλοίων, ὡς νομίζειν ἐν θαλάσσῃ βλέπειν πόλιν μίαν καὶ οὐ διεσαλεύετο πλοῖον τοῦ ἑτέρου".[23].

Τελικά η προσθήκη της ομάδας Β συνίσταται στο να προβάλλει την αυτοκρατορική ανάμειξη στα πράγματα της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης. Ο αυτοκράτορας εμφανίζεται με τις δύο επιστολές του σαν ένας αληθινός εκπρόσωπος του Θεού στη γη: προστάτης των αδικημένων, τιμωρός εκείνων που αδικούν και ταυτόχρονα αδιαφιλονίκητος ηγέτης. Είναι σε θέση να στείλει μεγάλες χερσαίες δυνάμεις προς βοήθεια του ευσεβούς βασιλιά των Αξουμιτών,[24] αλλά και να "διατάξει" θρησκευτικούς ηγέτες, του ύψους του πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας να βοηθήσουν τους σκοπούς του θέτοντας τρόπον τινα τις ουράνιες δυνάμεις στην υπηρεσία του.

Έτσι λοιπόν λαμβάνοντας υπόψιν ότι:

α) ο συγγραφέας ήταν κατά πάσαν πιθανότητα αυτόπτης μάρτυρας

β) η προσθήκη της ομάδας Β εξυμνεί και προβάλλει το βυζαντινό αυτοκράτορα και γενικότερα την εξωτερική πολιτική του

γ) το ύφος του κειμένου είναι ενιαίο

οδηγούμαι στο συμπέρασμα ότι:

Ο ίδιος ο συγγραφέας του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα έκανε και την

22. AASS 747 A = Boissonade 44-45.
23. AASS 755 B = Boissonade 55-56.
24. AASS 743 A = Boissonade 42.

προσθήκη που σώζεται στην ομάδα Β, σε μια εποχή όχι πολύ μεταγενέστερη της αρχικής μορφής που σώζει η ομάδα Α.[25] Ο συγγραφέας δηλαδή σε μια λίγο μεταγενέστερη εποχή ξαναδούλεψε το κείμενό του. Η εποχή αυτή δεν πρέπει να είναι άλλη από εκείνη του Ιουστινιανού Α΄ (527-565). Αυτή την εποχή – κατ' εξοχήν – θα ευνοούνταν ένα τέτοιο έργο μέσα στα πλαίσια της προβολής της μεγαλεπήβολης εξωτερικής πολιτικής του Ιουστινιανού, η οποία ευχής έργον θα ήταν αν παρουσιαζόταν ότι διέπεται από τη χριστιανική και μόνο ηθική:[26] ο Ιουστίνος Α΄, ο αυτοκράτορας του Βυζαντίου, δεν εξωθεί σε καμία περίπτωση τους Αιθίοπες εναντίον των Ομηριτών για εμπορικούς λόγους.[27] Ο συγγραφέας φαίνεται πως κατά τη συγγραφή του μαρτυρίου "λησμόνησε" αυτό που πρώτα-πρώτα τόνισε, πόσο σπουδαία δηλαδή ήταν η θέση της χώρας των Ομηριτών για το εμπόριο και ότι αν αυτή η χώρα ήταν εχθρική απέναντι στο Βυζάντιο το βυζαντινό εμπόριο θα γνώριζε δυσκολίες. Η χώρα των Ομηριτών εύκολα θα δημιουργούσε δυσκολίες στο βυζαντινό εμπόριο αν κυριαρχούνταν από ένα λαό εχθρικό προς το Βυζάντιο. Εγγύηση φιλίας για τους Βυζαντινούς αποτελούσε μόνο η Ορθοδοξία. Το πιο πιθανό είναι το μαρτύριο να ξαναδουλεύτηκε στην Κωνσταντινούπολη όπου η πρώτη μορφή του κειμένου να ήταν ήδη γνωστή και να είχε γίνει ευνοϊκά αποδεκτή. Η δεύτερη μορφή του έργου σίγουρα θα προκαλούσε την ευαρέσκεια του Ιουστινιανού και αναμφισβήτητα κάποια οφέλη στον συγγραφέα.[28]

Ως προς τα μεγάλα και εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέροντα θέματα της γλώσσας και του ύφους προκαταρκτικά οφείλουν να αναφερθούν τα εξής:

25. N. Pigulewskaja, Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 36 (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1969) 196 "...das Werk dürfte schwerlich nach der dreissiger Jahren des 6. Jahrhunderts abgefaßt worden sein."

26. Δεν έχει σημασία ότι τα γεγονότα του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα διαδραματίζονται ενώ αυτοκράτορας ήταν ο Ιουστίνος. Ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι η εποχή του Ιουστίνου δεν είναι παρά η εισαγωγή στην εποχή του Ιουστινιανού. Πρβλ. A.A. Vasiliev, Justin the first. An Introduction to the epoch of Justinian the Great [Dumbarton Oaks Studies I] (Massachusetts, 1950), εδώ σελ. 6 κ.εξ.

27. Για τα εμπορικά αίτια των πολέμων μεταξύ Αξουμιτών και Ομηριτών βλ. α) V. Christides, MILAHA, The Encyclopaedia of Islam VII, fascicules 117-188 (Leiden 1991) 40-46. β) Σχετικά με τις πληροφορίες που βρίσκονται στο μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα για το ναυτικό και τη ναυσιπλοΐα στην Ερυθρά Θάλασσα: V. Christides, "Navigation and Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (6th-14th Centuries A.D.), NUBICA III/IV (τυπώνεται). Και γ) Χ. Παπαστάθης, Περί των "Νόμων" των Ομηριτών του Αγίου Γρηγεντίου, Graeco-Arabica 4 (1991) 115-116.

28. Πρβλ. την αντίθετη άποψη του Irfan Shahîd, The Martyrs of Najrân new documents, Subsidia Hagiographica 49 (1971) 203.

Όπως είναι ευνόητο μια διεξοδική εξέταση της γλώσσας του μαρτυρίου μπορεί να δώσει απαντήσεις σε πολλά ερωτήματα σχετικά με το συγγραφέα, τη γλώσσα στην οποία γράφτηκε αρχικά το μαρτύριο, μια ακριβέστερη ίσως χρονολογική τοποθέτηση της συγγραφής. Μια πρώτη διαπίστωση, όσον αφορά τη γλώσσα, είναι το πλουσιότατο λεξιλόγιο· ο συγγραφέας δε διστάζει να χρησιμοποιεί ακόμα και ένα πλήθος τεχνικών όρων, είτε ελληνικών είτε εξελληνισμένων από τα λατινικά, ένα μέρος των οποίων συναντιέται για πρώτη φορά στο μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα. Οι διάλογοι τώρα, οι οποίοι αφθονούν, οι λόγοι των διαφόρων ομιλητών, με τα κάθε είδους σχήματα λόγου, εναλλάσσονται στο κείμενο με τις περιγραφές πολεμικών επεισοδίων και ιστορικών γεγονότων – των οποίων και η γλώσσα και το ύφος σαφώς διαφοροποιούνται – με αποτέλεσμα το κείμενο να διαβάζεται αρκετά ευχάριστα· αναφέρω ένα χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα από το επεισόδιο 3β: "Εἰπὲ, παιδίον· τί συμφέρει σοι, πορευθῆναι μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς σου, ἢ εἶναι μετ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ τεκνοποιοῦμαί σε." Τὸ παιδίον λέγει· "Μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς μου συμφέρει μοι· τούτου γὰρ χάριν ἔλεγον αὐτῇ, εἰρηκυίᾳ μοι· Δεῦρο, τέκνον· μαρτυρήσωμεν καθὼς πάντες· Καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ· "Μῆτερ, τί ἐστι μαρτυρῆσαι; καὶ λέγει μοι· Ἀποθανεῖν καὶ πάλιν ζῆσαι." Εἶτα πάλιν λέγει τὸ παιδίον· ""Εασόν με ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα μου, ὅτι θεωρῶ τούς ἀνθρώπους σύροντας αὐτήν." Καί ἔκραζεν· "Αμμᾶ, ἀμμᾶ." Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς· "Γιγνώσκεις τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστὸν;" ὁ δὲ λέγει· "Ναὶ." Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς· "Πόθεν γιγνώσκεις αὐτὸν;" Λέγει ὁ παῖς· "Ἀληθῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐθεώρουν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτε ἀπηρχόμην μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς μου· καὶ εἰ θέλεις ἐλθεῖν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐγὼ σοι αὐτὸν δεικνύω."[29]

Ως προς το δόγμα αναμφισβήτητα το κείμενο του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα είναι έντονα φιλορθόδοξο. Οι θεολογικές παρεκβάσεις του κειμένου δε μας αφίνουν να πιστέψομε πως ο συγγραφέας ήταν δεινός θεολόγος ή κάποιος ανώτατος κληρικός – οι παρεκβάσεις αυτές ούτε μεγάλης έκτασης είναι ούτε βρίθουν θεολογικών επιχειρημάτων και αποδείξεων – όμως θεολογούσε ευχαρίστως και φαίνεται να είχε εμπεδώσει το ορθόδοξο δόγμα όπως διαμορφώθηκε στις συνόδους της Χαλκηδόνας και της Εφέσου.[30]

Τελειώνοντας πρέπει να ειπωθεί, ότι η έκδοση ενός μαρτυρίου εκτός από τις ιστορικές πληροφορίες που παρέχει, αποτελεί οπωσδήποτε μία συμβολή στη διερεύνηση του χριστιανισμού την εποχή της διαμόρφωσής του.

Σ. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

29. AASS 738 F – 739 A = Boissonade 32-33.

30. Πρβλ. την αντίθετη άποψη: L. Duchesne, L'église au VI siècle (Paris, 1925) 289 σημ. 1 "...L'auteur de cette pièce (εvv. μαρτύριο αγ. Αρέθα) semble être Serge, évêque de Resapha, l'un des envoyés de Justin auprès de Al-Mundir, en 524".

Remarks on Kom el Demas in Alexandria

The location of the tomb of Alexander the Great depends to some extent on Arabic sources, since John Chrysostom in the IVth century A.D. was not able to find it, and lamented over the destruction of the city[1]. The western edge of the alongated hill popularly called Kom el-Dikka, and in the past Kom el-Dick, Kom el-Demas or Kom el-Dimas, situated on the plan of ancient Alexandria between streets L1-L'2-R4-R5, has been in many publications traditionally linked with the Sema or Soma, and means the tomb of Alexander the Great, as for example in the newest edition of "Les guides bleues", or in tourist magazines dated June 1985[2]. It has been repeated till now, despite the fact that a large part of the area in question has been explored by archaeologists since 1893, proving nothing else but the residential character of the buildings of Ptolemaic, and early Roman times, public and habitual in the late Roman and Byzantine period[3]. Archaeological evidence from excavations is however mostly ignored by popularisers of antiquity in Alexandria, who are trying to keep the atmosphere of legend still alive. There is some excitement and rush in publishing undisciplined thoughts that are against all archaeological factography. There is no need however to mention them now, since they were reviewed by Combe, Adriani, and lately by Fraser, who in his excellent book on Ptolemaic Alexandria exhausted critically Greek and Arabic sources connected with the location of the tomb, and their modern interpretations as well[4]. It is however worth to

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1. A. Adriani, Repertorio, C, Palermo 1966, p. 244.
2. Égypte – Les guides bleues, Hachette 1979, p. 380. For example Magazine "Cairo Today" (Alexandria: the summer pilgrimage), June 1985, p. 5 and 26.
3. M. Rodziewicz, Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie, à la lumière des fouilles polonaises à Kom el-Dikka, Varsovie 1984.
4. E. Combe, Notes de topographie et d'histoire Alexandrine, BSAA, 34, pp. 62-73, 36, pp. 120-145, 38, pp. 89-112; A. Adriani, op. cit. pp. 242-245; P.M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria, Oxford 1972, I, p. 16, note 85.

give in addition more archaeological documents gained after Fraser's publication.

In the first volume of Graeco-Arabica was published a plan of Alexandria showing dislocation of Muslim cemeteries in, and around the Mediaeval city[5]. Number two marked a group of tombs located on the northern slope of the hill called now Kom el Dikka (souk). The tombs were located ça. 30-50 metres south of Via Canopica. This place deserves more attention because it may shed light on the question of the origin and proper location of the hill called once Kom el-Demas, connected unclearly in many publications with the localisation of the tomb of Alexander the Great. Since many scholars have discussed this name, we would like to give in addition only new archaeological evidence pertaining to the question[6]. Before doing this, however, a note should be added about the article of 1973 of M.L. Bernhard, as it was not discussed by Fraser[7]. The location of the hill called once Kom el-Demas played in this article a basic role. Bernhard used several Arabic sources for the identification of the tomb of Alexander the Great, and concluded that the late Roman theatre at Kom el-Dikka unearthed in early sixtieth could be a building mentioned by El Mas^coudi in Xth century, as the tomb of the prophet Alexander[8]. However, minute archaeological informations excluded this identification as impossible, since the theatre was ruined, plundered, and sunk under debris long before Mas^coudi becoming the burial ground in the city[9]. Other parts around the neighbouring big Roman bath, and the habitation quarter along the street R4 (numbered after Mahmoud Bey El-Falaki) can not be identified as Kom el-Demas as well[10].

Another possible location of Mediaeval Kom el-Demas (or Dimas) offers the northern slope of the hill, called now Kom el-Dikka (souk). There, below the Muslim tombs of late VIII and IXth centuries, came to light poorly preserved relics of a private bath and several rooms, which belonged to a rich house or villa urbana, located in the corner between ancient streets R3 and L1, at the main Alexandrian street Via Canopica[11]. The most remarkable and important fact is the way this

5. M. Rodziewicz, Graeco-Islamic elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of the new discoveries, Graeco-Arabica I, 1982, p. 35-49, fig. 3, p. 39 and 49.

6. Fraser op. cit.

7. M.L. Bernhard, Le "Tombeau d'Alexandre" des Arabes, ET VII, 1973, pp. 127-136.

8. Mas^coudi, translation O. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, t. II, p. 259.

9. E. Promińska, Investigations on the Population of Muslim Alexandria, Warsaw 1972.

10. M. Rodziewicz, Les Habitations, pp. 17-33.

11. Rodziewicz op. cit., pp. 317-329, fig. 329-331.

building was destroyed, the date of it. and the contents of the rooms. Remains of a better preserved room unmistakenly revealed the drastic result of an earthquake. Five persons hiding in the north-western corner of the room were crushed by a fallen wall. The skeletons and the fallen wall were in their original position, while rest of the building was plundered, walls were dismantled and individual stones removed out of the area, after the catastrophy. On the floor level there was an astonishingly large number of human bones from the same time. Accompanying sherds were evidently of the VIth century. Therefore, the well known earthquake of 535 could have been responsible for the event[12]. The most remarkable fact is that the bodies from the fallen building were not removed out of the rubble, and ritually buried after the catastrophy, but were left on the spot. The number of killed people must have been large, because in profiles bordering the trench there were still visible skeletal remains. After this event the building was not reconstructed, or leveled and covered with new structures. The area was abandoned and became the mound of debris with human corpses. Right in the centre of the city, at the main street, the place became an unexpectedly unusual part of the town with a distinct and disturbing character, which eventually formed a base for the creation of an individual Greek name – Demas. Since the place was not inhabited later in VIIIth and IXth centuries, over the abandoned ruins Muslim tombs were located, thus continuing the character of the place, and adding the new element of a ritual burial ground. The extent of this necropolis, however, is not much known, but it is certain that it was not connected with the Muslim cemetery around the sector of late Roman dwellings and public buildings, such as theatre or bath, between ancient streets R4 and R5[13]. However, one edifice could exist there, eventually right at the border of Via Canopica, whose remains were still visible in the 19th century. Wilhelm Sieglin put them on his plan of ancient Alexandria in 1893, and described them as "Ruinen einer altchristlichen Kirche"[14]. The problem of this church would fall out of the scope of this paper if it could not be eventually connected with the church of St. Michael, or Alexander, located on the historical map of the city done by Neroutsos in 1888, five years before Sieglin[15]. There is, however, one disagreement

12. M.J. Clédat, Notes sur l'Istme de Suez. BIFAO, 21, 1923, p. 65.

13. M. Rodziewicz, Les Habitations op. cit. fig. 147; M. Rodziewicz, Nouvelles données sur le quartier de Kopron à Alexandrie, ET XI, 1979, p. 85.

14. W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus, in: Sprunner-Sieglin, Handatlas, I, 1893; M. Rodziewicz, op. cit. Pl. 2.

15. D.T. Neroutsos, L'ancienne Alexandrie, étude archéologique et topographique, Paris 1888; M. Rodziewicz, op. cit. fig. 274.

between them. Neroutsos places the church on the other side of Via Canopica, but also in the corner between streets L1-R3, where now runs the street leading to the Graeco-Roman Museum. Both locations can not be revised for lack of remains seen by these two authors. It is worth to add only that in the mentioned casual dig of the traces of ancient earthquake, among stones collected from upper layers we have seen one fragment of marble slab with a carefully sculpted cross in a circle, which could have been shifted from the church when the modern building was constructed at the end of last century[16]. The slab with the cross and several other fragments of marble capitals and columns recently seen support Sieglin's location of the church on the southern side of Via Canopica. Judging from the size of the marble cross and from architectural elements, it must have been a small church. It is difficult to accept the survival of such a small church through the earthquake, while a big and solid building behind it had collapsed. Beside, the building with the bath stood right on the border of the street and, as lower layers proved, the habitual character of the building was continuous there since the early Roman period.

Therefore, we should take into account the possibility that Sieglin's church was built after the catastrophy of the sixth century, and was of a commemorative, funerary character for the unburied victims of the earthquake. Therefore removal of the stones from the destroyed building could be connected with the construction of this church. The stones were taken away from the area closer to the possible position of the church, while further to the south more stones, and parts of fallen walls, were left intact. This could have been the consequence of the protective role of such a church, which ritualized the mound of the corpses. The position of the church close to the modern surface of the area is not contradictory. The floors of the destroyed building with the skeletons were located on high level, close to the level of the modern street, therefore the church could have been located on the same one, or on a slightly higher level, so stratigraphical criteria are not against this location. The construction of the church possibly followed big building activities during the rule of Justinian, when the theatre located further to the west, the imperial bath, and the houses at the street R4 had been reconstructed, and restored after the above-mentioned earthquake. Physical remains quoted here are in favour of the location of Kom el-Demas on the northern slope, in the central and eastern sector of nowadays Kom el-Dikka (souk), coming

16. G. Botti noted in a neighbouring dig a cistern of Ptolemaic period. See: G. Botti, Les citernes d'Alexandrie, BSAA II, 1899.

closer to the location of Ibn El-Hakim dated 871[17]. Since Mahmoud Bey el-Falaki applied the name of Kom el-Demas to the western edge of the hill, and connected it with the location of Soma, the places situated closer to it, such as the mosque of Nabi Daniel, Attarin, and the church of St. Marc, became associated in many publications with the ancient and so-called Arabic tomb of Alexander the Great, while new archaeological evidence qualify the eastern part of the hill to be called Kom el-Demas – mound of corpses. Archaeological evidence suggest the bilingual character of the name. The Greek part of this name could have been formed between the earthquake and the Arab conquest of Egypt, most probably still in the VIth century A.D. The chronological distance between the death of Alexander the Great and the most probable time of the formation the Greek part of the name Kom el-Demas amounts to ca. nine hundred years, so ancient writers did not use the term Demas in connection with the burial of Alexander the Great, but Soma or Sema, while Kom el-Demas is preserved in Arabic literary sources only[19].

Therefore, it would be reasonable to exclude it from the repertoire of informations linked with the tradition of Alexander the Great, and connect it with an archaeologically proved mound of unburied corpses which existed at the northern slope of the eastern part of Kom el Dikka, remote in time, and probably very far from the royal cemetery of the Ptolemies, and the founder of Alexandria.

Dr. MIECZYSLAW RODZIEWICZ

17. Ibn el-Hakim, transl. Bouriant, Mém. Miss. arch. franc. XVII. I, 1893.

18. Mahmoud Bey El Falaki, Memoire sur l'antique Alexandrie, Copenhagen 1872, pp. 49-52.

19. Adriani, op. cit.; Fraser, op. cit. note 85.

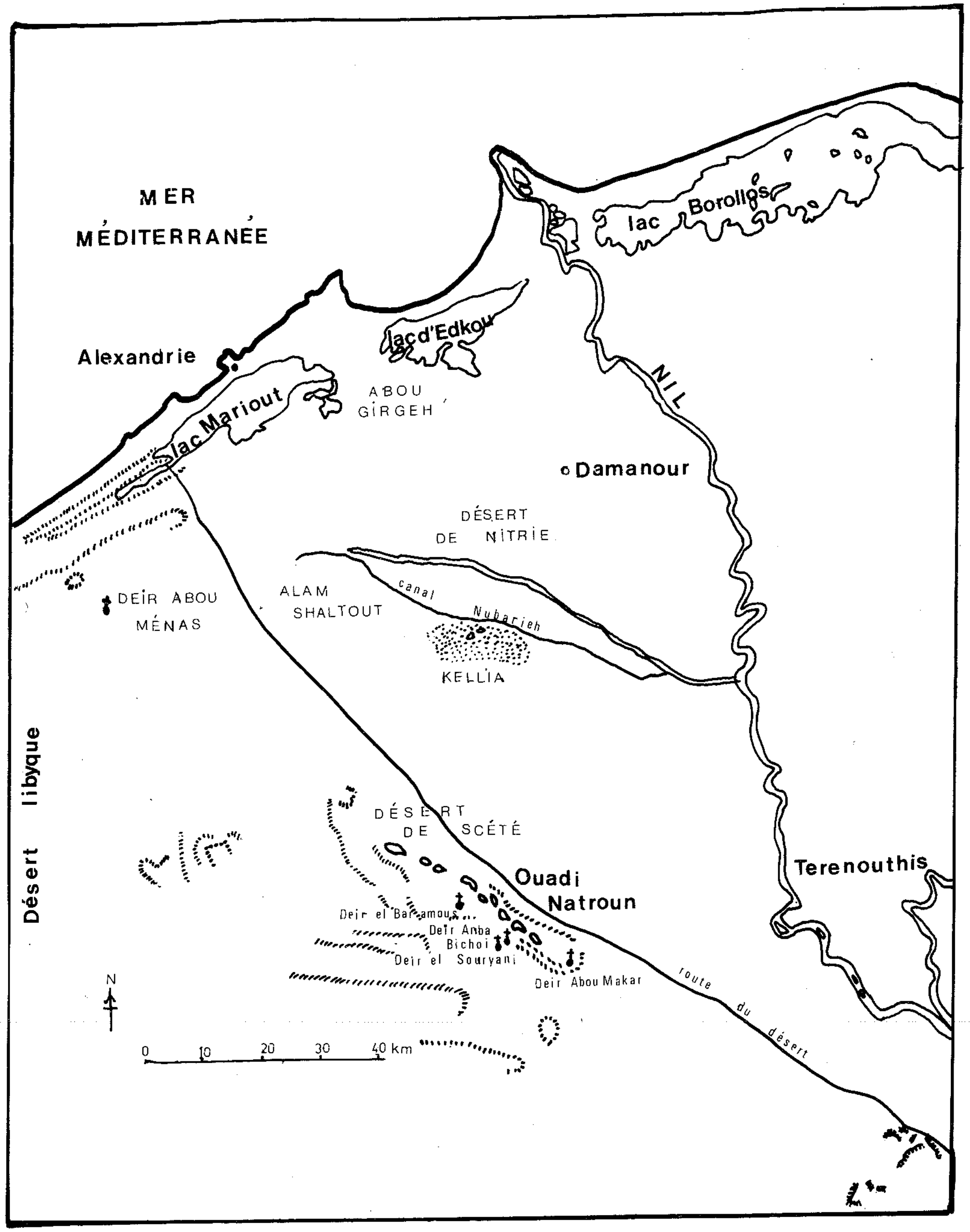


FIG. 1

Alexandrie et la peinture chrétienne d'Egypte

La tradition veut que l'Egypte ait été christianisée par saint Marc. Un grand nombre d'églises et d'oratoires s'élevaient à Alexandrie[1]. Mais divers facteurs se sont ligués pour les faire disparaître et l'arrivée des Arabes ne se fit pas sans dommage[2]: certaines églises furent transformées en mosquées. Aussi nous trouvons-nous bien démunis lorsque nous cherchons à nous faire une idée précise de la décoration que pouvaient revêtir ces édifices. L'une ou l'autre de ces descriptions dont les auteurs arabes se plaisaient à émailler leurs précieux écrits historiques et géographiques nous aident parfois[3]. Mais faute d'avoir conservé des éléments des peintures murales, c'est vers les nécropoles que nous aurons à tourner nos regards. Evidemment, nous devons rester conscients du fait que les programmes iconographiques adoptés dans les tombes, – dont par ailleurs on n'a conservé que quelques exemplaires, – ne correspondent pas en totalité à ceux qui se déroulaient sur les murs et les colonnes et dans les absides des églises[4].

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1. Plusieurs églises installées dans des sanctuaires païens: ainsi le sanctuaire de Saturne, celui d'Isis medica et le Caisareon, devinrent respectivement l'église Saint-Michel, celle des Saints-Cyr-et-Jean et la Cathédrale. Cf. O.F.A. MEINARDUS, *Christian Egypt, Ancient and Modern,* Le Caire, 1965, pp. 112-117.

2. L'édifice élevé en l'honneur de saint Marc fut brûlé, lors de l'occupation de la ville par les Arabes; d'autres églises, comme celles de Saint Athanase ou de Théonas, furent transformées en mosquées.

3. Nombre d'églises, leurs contenu et décors ne nous sont connus que par les écrits arabes. Cf. *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries,* attributed to ABÛ ṢÂLIḤ the Armenian, translated from the original Arabic by T.A. EVETTS, with added notes by A.J. BUTLER, with a map, Oxford, 1895 (rééd. anast., Londres, 1969). AL-MAQRIZI, *Histoire de l'Egypte,* trad. par E. BLOCHET, Paris, 1908.

4. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *La peinture copte avant le XIIe siècle. Une approche* dans *Coptica = Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia,* vol. IX, Rome, 1981, pp. 221-286.

Les catacombes ont livré une mince partie des trésors qu'elles recelèrent jadis: elles furent partiellement détruites à l'époque de Méhémet Ali lorsqu'elles servirent de fortins pour la défense de la ville moderne; et furent également endommagées par l'exploitation des carrières de pierre. Ce qui subsistait fut visité et fouillé au cours du XIXe s. par Néroutsos et Wescher[5]. Rien, nous disent-ils, ne distingue l'architecture de ces catacombes des sépultures païennes: mêmes puits creusés verticalement et ouvrant sur des chambres funéraires peintes. Parmi les objets qui y furent trouvés, certains fournissent des repères chronologiques. Ainsi, à Karmouz (près de l'ancien Sérapeum) a-t-on récupéré, à côté d'un abondant mobilier céramique parmi lequel foisonnent les ampoules de saint Ménas, des monnaies de Constantin. Les descriptions de Néroutsos nous apprennent que les peintures étaient nombreuses: des pampres de vigne, des apôtres et des saints figurés isolés sur les murs et les pilastres, diverses scènes bibliques. La plupart étaient trop peu et trop mal conservées, interdisant qu'on les puisse identifier avec certitude.

On retiendra ici trois oeuvres. La première évoquait la résurrection du Christ: trois femmes debout devant un tombeau vide à l'entrée duquel est assis un ange[6].

La seconde comportait trois tableaux séparés par un palmier: à droite, le Christ et la Vierge (comme l'indiquent les inscriptions) et des personnages assis; au centre, le Christ entouré de corbeilles avec, à ses côtés, Pierre et André; enfin, à gauche, des personnages allongés comme pour un banquet "mangent les eulogies du Christ" comme le précise un texte. Néroutsos n'identifie que la scène centrale: un miracle du Christ[7], Bernand[8] y voit "Jésus-Christ entre Pierre et André, bénissant des pains en présence de Marie et de Jean", Dom Leclercq suggère une lecture plus complète et complexe: Noces de Cana à droite, Multiplication des pains au centre, repas funéraire associé au repas eucharistique à gauche[9].

5. *L'ancienne Alexandrie. Etude archéologique et topographique* par le Dr. NEROUTSOS-BEY, Paris, 1888; C. WESCHER, *Notice sur une catacombe chrétienne à Alexandrie (Egypte)* dans *B.A.C.*, 3, 1865, n° 8, pp. 57-61, avec un commentaire de G.B. DE ROSSI, pp. 62-64.

6. NEROUTSOS, *Alexandrie* (cité n. 5), p. 50.

7. *Ibidem*, pp. 42-53, sp. p. 43.

8. A. BERNAND, *Alexandrie la Grande*, Paris, 1966, p. 168.

9. H. LECLERCQ, *s.v. Alexandrie* dans *D.A.C.L.*, I, 1, 1907, coll. 1098-1216, sp. 1129-1130; voyez aussi G.B. DE ROSSI, *I simboli dell'Eucaristia nelle pitture dell'ipogeo scoperto in Alessandria d'Egitto* dans *B.A.C.*, 3, 1865, n° 10, pp. 73-77.

Le dernier sujet ornait un arcosolium: "Jésus-Christ, ... d'un âge juvénile et les pieds nus, marche comme Horus au milieu des serpents, des crocodiles, des lézards et d'autres reptiles de toute forme et de toute espèce et s'approche du lion qui, du côté gauche, reste à sa vue ébahi et la gueule ouverte... Deux figures remplacent les divinités égyptiennes que l'on voit d'ordinaire à côté d'Horus. Deux anges terminent le tableau."[10]. Plus loin, Néroutsos lui-même établit un parallèle entre cette peinture chrétienne et ses antécédents[11].

Ce n'est pas la seule chapelle où apparaissent des motifs égyptisants. Dans une autre, découverte en 1876 près de Karmouz, l'ornementation était "égyptienne: Capiteaux à fleurs de lotus et, sur le fronton, disque solaire ailé flanqué des uraeus"[12].

Découverte plus récemment dans un quartier de Wardian[13], une tombe attribuée au IVe s. associe diverses conceptions religieuses à des scènes de la vie quotidienne; des boeufs tournent inlassablement en rond pour actionner une noria, non loin d'un sanctuaire rustique avec jardin dédié à Pan; un jeune berger porte une brebis sur les épaules (bon pasteur?) et plus loin, Jonas que la baleine vient de recracher s'est endormi sous la treille[14].

Ces témoins de la peinture murale alexandrine associent une survivance des mythologies païennes (égyptienne classique et hellénistico-romaine) à une connaissance assez poussée des récits bibliques qui sont illustrés avec précision.

La ville d'Alexandrie s'est montrée avare en informations, aussi nous tournerons-nous vers son arrière-pays, ainsi que l'ont fait, au début du XXe s., Breccia et Adriani[15].

10. NEROUTSOS, *Alexandrie* (cité n. 5), pp. 47-49. Notons que la figure de la page 49 a été considérée par tous les chercheurs (moi y compris) comme le dessin de cette peinture. Elle représente en réalité l'ivoire dont il est question à la p. 50. Cf. à ce sujet les pertinentes remarques de Jan PARTYKA, *La représentation disparue du Christ d'Alexandrie et la nouvelle peinture nubienne du "Christus sol et victor"* dans *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 60, 1984, pp. 109-122.

11. NEROUTSOS, *Alexandrie* (cité n. 5), p. 48: "Voici ... la reproduction de la figure d'Horus ... marchant sur les crocodiles et maîtrisant les serpent et le lion, sous la forme de Jésus-Christ...".

12. BERNAND, *Alexandrie* (cité n. 8), pp. 168-169.

13. H. RIAD, *Tomb Paintings from the Necropolis of Alexandria* dans *Archaeology*, 17, n° 3, 1964, pp. 169-172.

14. A. BARBET, *Une tombe chrétienne à Alexandrie* dans *Caesarodunum*, 15 bis, 1980, pp. 391-400 (= *Colloque Histoire et Historiographie. Clio)*.

15. E. BRECCIA, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie 1925-1931*, Bergame, 1932 (éd. anast., Rome, 1970); ID., *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* II, *1931-1932*.

Je n'aborderai pas ici les fouilles de Maréa qui ont été présentées par M. Rodziewicz lors de notre précédent congrès[16], ni celles d'Abou Ménas[17], où oeuvrent des missions allemandes: les peintures récemment remises au jour sont encore inédites[18].

On doit à Breccia, puis à Adriani, la découverte de nombreaux koms disséminés à travers toute la région maréotique. Les quelques sondages menés n'ont malheureusement pas été suivis de fouilles véritables et les descriptions publiées nous laissent souvent sur notre faim. Evariste Breccia écrit, par exemple: "la région maréotique n'est pas riche en monuments imposants, mais elle est parsemée de ruines qui présentent un réel intérêt. ... dans une propriété ..., on a rencontré de nombreux vestiges d'habitations, de citernes, de tombes de l'âge romain, ainsi que des restes de quelques édifices chrétiens"[19].

A Abou Girgeh, un de ces édifices fut fouillé, mais il ne faut pas perdre de vue qu'il appartient à tout un ensemble demeuré enfoui sous le sable. Et Breccia en est bien conscient, qui écrit: "ces petites collines cachent des ruines ... qui datent en général de l'âge chrétien ... elles font partie des nombreuses séries de monastères et de villages dont toute la région maréotique ... à l'ouest d'Alexandrie, jusqu'à Abou Mina, Kasr Isa et au delà était peuplée."[20]. Seule le point nord-est du "croissant" a fait l'objet de recherche. Deux ensembles superposés ont été dégagés[21]. Les peintures trouvées en surface ne nous retiendront guère[22]. Par contre, nous nous arrêterons sur le décor de la crypte[23], constituée de deux

Bergame, 1933 (éd. anast., Rome, 1978), et A. ADRIANI, *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano* I *(1932-33), Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain* II *(1935-39)* et III *(1940-1950)*, Alexandrie, 1934, 1940, 1952.

16. M. RODZIEWICZ, *Alexandria and District of Mareotis* dans *Graeco-Arabica*, II, Athènes, 1983, pp. 199-216.

17. On verra les rapports que P. Grossmann leur consacre dans les *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*.

18. Je dois à l'amitié de Peter Grossmann d'avoir pu voir les photos de ces peintures: plusieurs couches ont été superposées au cours des temps. Ce que j'en ai vu montre une grande technique et une connaissance approfondie des textes.

19. E. BRECCIA, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie 1925-1931* (cité n. 15), pp. 53-57, p. 56 pour la citation.

20. *Ibidem*.

21. E. BRECCIA, *Rapport sur la marche du Service du Musée*, Alexandrie, 1912, pp. 3-14.

22. IDEM; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peintures coptes de la région maréotique: Abou Girgeh et Alam Shaltout* dans *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, Bruxelles, 26, 1982, pp. 91-107.

23. E. BRECCIA, *Rapport* (cité n. 21), p. 5.

pièces. Dans la première pièce, au-dessus d'un soubassement à l'imitation de marbres colorés, on voit saint Ménas entre ses chameaux[24], un saint militaire[25], une Annonciation, – sujet rare dans le premier art copte[26]. Au-dessus de la porte donnant accès à la seconde salle veillait un Christ[27]. Dans la niche de la seconde salle, mise en valeur par des draperies[28], se trouvait un motif d'une particulière importance, par son style comme par son sujet, dont la signification demeure encore assez obscure. Parmi des plantes et des fleurs de lotus se tient un jeune orant imberbe, entouré d'une tholos[29], d'un poisson et d'un putto[30].

La composition double de la première salle de la crypte correspond parfaitement à ce que l'on rencontre dans les grands couvents de Saqqara et de Baouit[31], les sujets reproduits dans la seconde sont inconnus ailleurs. Le paysage dans lequel prie l'orant n'est pas dépourvu de liens avec les scènes nilotiques en vogue à l'époque hellénistico-romaines[32].

Les décors de deux petites chambres découvertes à Alam Shaltout diffèrent également de Saqqara et de Baouit[33], mais s'apparentent par contre à ce que l'on trouve aux Kellia[34]. Le pavement de ces pièces était recouvert d'un enduit imitant de grandes plaques de marbre veiné[35]; sur

24. ID., p. 8; rappelons qu'un sanctuaire dédié à ce saint se trouvait non loin de là.

25. E. BRECCIA, *Rapport* (cité n. 21), p. 6; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peintures* (cité n. 22), p. 100, fig. 2 et pl. II, b.

26. E. BRECCIA, *Rapport* (cité n. 21), p. 6-8; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peintures* (cité n. 22), pp. 98-99, fig. 2, pl. I, d.

27. E. BRECCIA, *Rapport* (cité n. 21), p. 10; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peintures* (cité n. 22), p. 102, pl. III, c.

28. E. BRECCIA, *Rapport* (cité n. 21), p. 10; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peintures* (cité n. 22), p. 102, pl. III, d, IV, a.

29. Ces *tholoi* ressemblent curieusement à des baldaquins d'autel: M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peintures* (cité n. 22), p. 103 et n. 52.

30. Le poisson peut symboliser le Christ; quant aux *putti*, ils sont souvent représentés dans l'art tardo-antique.

31. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peinture copte* (cité n. 4), pp. 246-248, 251-255.

32. La plus célèbre est sans conteste la mosaïque de Palestrina, mais les scènes nilotiques figurent également sur nombre de peintures romaines, et le sujet connaîtra un grand succès dans le monde copte; on le verra sur des tissus du IIIe au VIIe s.

33. A. ADRIANI, *Edifice chrétien à Alam Shaltout* dans *Annuaire (1935-1939)* (cité n. 15) pp. 151-158.

34. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Fouilles récentes aux Kellia. Leur apport à la connaissance de l'art copte* dans *Annales d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie*, Bruxelles, VI, 1984, pp. 23-44.

35. A. ADRIANI, *Edifice* (cité n. 33), p. 157; cette façon de faire était courante à l'époque

les parois, le rouge pompéien du soubassement était interrompu de place en place par des carrés ou des rosaces, parfois entourées d'oiseaux; des pampres de vignes déployaient ensuite leurs feuilles et leurs grappes[36]; la partie supérieure du décor n'était conservée qu'en un endroit où l'on voyait des paons afrontés[37].

Continuant notre route vers le sud, nous abordons le vaste désert libyque, où se situent les ensembles de Scété, de Nitrie et des Kellia ou cellules[38].

Des missions égyptiennes, françaises et suisses s'emploient à sauver tout ce qui peut l'être de ce site appelé à se transformer en terres arables[39]. Habitées dès le IVe s., les Kellia ont connu leur plus grande extension entre le Ve et le VIIe s., et furent définitivement abandonnées au XIe s. Les décors sont extrêmement riches et variés[40], mais je m'en tiendrai à ceux qui s'apparentent le plus aux oeuvres alexandrines, s'éloignant par le fait même des canons en vigueur à Saqqara et à Baouit[41].

Le soubassement habituellement formé à Saqqara et à Baouit d'une succession de panneaux à motifs géométriques, comprend ici, – comme à Alam Shaltout, – une bande unie de rouge pompéien interrompue par des panneaux renfermant des tresses, des animaux, des canthares[42]; il est parfois surmonté de pampres de vignes[43]. Les paons afrontés rencontrés à Alam Shaltout, se retrouvent à plusieurs reprises, encadrant parfois une croix selon un schéma classique dans l'art chrétien en général mais rare chez les Coptes[44]. Ailleurs, perroquets et

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hellénistico-romaine: cf. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Survivances de l'hellénistico-romain dans la peinture copte (antérieure au IXe s.)* dans *Graeco-Arabica,* II, pp. 199-216.

36. La même composition se trouve aux Kellia.

37. A. ADRIANI, *Edifice* (cité n. 33), p. 154; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peintures* (cité n. 22), fig. 3.

38. Un aperçu des découvertes faites durant ces dernières campagnes a été donné dans *Le site monastique des Kellia (Basse-Egypte). Recherches des années 1981-1983,* Louvain, 1984; on y trouvera, en dernière page, la bibliographie antérieure.

39. Ces missions ont obtenus un permis de fouilles jusqu'en 1987; ensuite les cultures recouvriront à tout jamais ce qui fut l'un des plus grands ensembles monastiques.

40. Cf. notes 34 et 38.

41. Ces deux couvents constituaient, jusqu'il y a peu, la base de toutes recherches relatives à la peinture copte.

42. De bons exemples ont été trouvés durant ces dernières campagnes, ainsi, par exemple, aux Qouçoûr er-Roubâ'îyât, au kom 306 (rapport sous presse).

43. Les pampres se déploient également sur les arcs, parfois, ils issent de canthares.

44. Voyez, par exemple, dans le *D.A.C.L.,* III, 2, 1914, coll. 3045-3131 (s.v. *croix et crucifix)* et XII, 2, 1936, coll. 2038-2058 (s.v. *oiseaux).*

perdrix ou cervidés flanquent des vases ou des croix[45]. Ces dernières sont, avec les bateaux le sujet préféré des moines des Kellia; elles reçoivent diverses formes, affectent différents types[46], protègent les entrées, sanctifient les murs, remplacent dans la niche orientale de l'oratoire du moine la *Maiestas Domini* présente à cet endroit à Saqqara et à Baouit[47]. Je m'arrêterai un instant sur une découverte particulière, qui eut lieu le dernier jour de la campagne de 1984. La croix jaillit non de simples végétaux, mais de pampres de vignes peuplés de fruits et d'animaux[48], parmi lesquels un crocodile, un mammifère que l'on ne peut identifier et un lion. Le lion, animal rarement figuré dans la peinture copte[49], apparaît plusieurs fois aux Kellia. Rapidement esquissé en rouge foncé[50] ou rendu avec un grand luxe de détails réalistes, son attitude rappelle celle des lions des tissus coptes[51]. Je voudrais encore citer un exemple qui constitue, je crois, un *unicum* dans la peinture copte, alors qu'il trouve maints parallèles dans l'art du tissu: par deux fois sur un même mur, de part et d'autre d'une niche, des lièvres gambadent et se repaissent de tendres pousses vertes[52].

Je terminerai par un tapis de sol aux motifs géométriques et floraux. A l'intérieur, de part et d'autre d'une dalle dépourvue de décor ou d'inscription, apparaissent un poisson et une tête féminine. Malgré l'usure de la peinture, on distingue le buste paré d'un collier et la tête portant un diadème; l'abondante chevelure semble retenue par un voile (?); le front s'orne de deux excroissances. On pense immédiatement à quelque déesse païenne, et l'hypothèse qu'il pourrait s'agir d'Isis vient aussitôt à l'esprit.

En résumé, les peintures mises au jour dans l'ensemble de la région maréotique possèdent suffisamment de points communs pour que l'on puisse songer à une école, ou au moins à un même environnement

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45. Ainsi aux Qouçoûr er-Roubâ'îyât, au kom 306, pièces 3 et 5.

46. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Le thème de la croix sur les peintures murales des Kellia: entre l'Egypte et la Nubie chrétiennes* dans les actes de la *Fifth International Conference of the Society for Nubian Studies, Heidelberg, 20-25 September 1982, Nubische Studien,* Mayence, 1986, pp. 363-366.

47. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peinture copte* (cité n. 4), sp. pp. 272-274.

48. Peinture inédite, trouvée le dernier jour de la campagne de 1984.

49. On le voit à Baouit, dans une scène de chasse; cf. M. RASSART-DEBERGH, *Peinture copte* (cité n. 4), p. 255.

50. Maints exemples aux Qouçour er-Roubâ'îyât, au kom 306.

51. L. KYBALOVA, *L'art des bords du Nil. Les tissus coptes,* Paris, 1967, pp. 87, 91, 93.

52. *Ibidem,* pp. 86, 90, 92.

artistique que l'on voudrait situer dans la mouvance de la proche Alexandrie. Mais, ce disant, on court le risque de pénétrer dans le dangereux terrain des vraisemblances...

MARGUERITE RASSART-DEBERGH
Bruxelles, 1985

"The tomb of Alexander the Great" The history and the legend in the Greco-Roman and Arab times

Alexander the Great died in Babylon in the summer of 323 B.C. In his brief reign he not only conquered the greatest part of the then known world, but brought vast changes to the regions of the empire that he built.

His life and deeds, as well as his death and burial, became a legend for future generations, far beyond the lands he had conquered. He was remembered in legend[1] from Iceland to China and is still invoked as their ancestor or patron by tribesmen in Afganistan.

In fact, until the Rennaissance, it is the legend of Alexander that prevailed, as reliable historical sources were practically unknown.

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1. For the Romance of Alexander see: A. Adel, Le Roman d'Alexandre. *Legendaire Medieval,* Bruxelles (1955). J.A. Boyle, "The Alexander Romance in Central Asia", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 9 (1965): 265 and "The Alexander Romance in the East and West", *B.J.R.L.* 60 (1977): 13. F.W. Cleaves, "An early Mongolian Version of the Alexander Romance", *Harv. J. Asiatic Stud.* 22 (1922). R. Dankoff, "The Alexander Romance in the Diwan Lughat-Turk", *Humaniora Islamica* 1 (1973): 233. T. Fahd, La version arabe du Roman d'Alexandre, *Graeco-Arabica,* vol. IV (1991), P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* vol. 1 (1972), 676. I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman (1913). E. Garcia Gomez, Un Texto Arabe Occidental di la legenda di Alejandro* (1929). D. Holton, *The Tale of Alexander,* the Medieval Greek rhymed version (1974). J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (1926), 111-113. J.J. Kazis, *Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon* (1962). M.S. La Du, ed., *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre,* vols. 1-6 (1937-1955). R. Macuch, "Pseudo-Callisthenes Orientalis and the problem of Ḏu l-qarnain", *Graeco-Arabica,* vol. IV (1991). M. Marin, Legends on Alexander the Great in Moslem Spain, *Graeco-Arabica,* vol. IV (1991), M.M. Mazzaoui, "Alexander the Great and the Arab Historians", *Graeco-Arabica,* vol. IV (1991). F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman,* mit vervandten Texten (1978). D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus* (1963). L. Ruggini, "Il Mitto di Alessandro dall'eta Antonina al Medioevo", *Athenaeum* 43 (1965): 3. G.V. Smithers, ed., *King Alisaunder,* vols. 1-2 (1952, 1957). A.M. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander,* trans. from Armenian (1969).

The legend greatly differed from a region to the other and was adapted and merged with pre-existing local traditions.

The legend of Alexander started spreading right after Alexander's death and shadowed his real life. Alexander became a mythical figure, a theme for folksongs, epics, anecdotes. Even his name was modified or distorted.

Alexander's personality was adapted according to the use each nation or tribe made of the conqueror's fame. He became a local hero. Even the Persians, whose empire Alexander had conquered made of him a Persian hero, son of Darius.

It seems that the legend of Alexander had its roots in Egypt, was written in Greek and was falsely attributed to Callisthenes. Thus it remained known as the Pseudo-Callisthenes[2].

It was translated and rendered in many versions and in many languages spreading all over the Eastern and Western world.

The legend had little in common with the true story of Alexander: The Byzantines made of Alexander a Saint while the Mohammedans include his deeds in the Koran, to mention only two extremes.

There are adaptations of Alexander's Romance in prose and verses, in the Greek language, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Persian, Arab, Hebrew, Coptic, Ethiopian, Spanish and numerous other languages and dialects. In French, the Romance is known as "la légende" or "la Romance d'Alexandre" and Alexander is one of the galant knights of Charlemagne, in English it is "the Romance of Alexander", in German "Alexandersage".

The Byzantines transmitted the legend to the Slavs and we have Alexander's Romance in the folklore of the Serbs, Croats, Czechs, Poles etc.

This paper, however, is limited to the history and myth connected with the "last dwelling" of Alexander: his mausoleum, whose splendour and display of wealth were the admiration of historians and travellers for centuries, and still excite the popular imagination.

With the passing of time, a dense veil of mystery has covered the burial of Philip's son, and it has become difficult to distinguish the historical facts from the legend. The legend was first woven in Greco-Roman times, and continued with additions in the Christian period and after the Arab conquest. It can indeed, be said that the legend of Alexander's tomb is still present in today's Alexandria.

Nearly everything related to Alexander's burial has become the

2. R. Macuch, *Pseudo-Callisthenes,* op. cit.

subject of controversy. We have, however, to accept as reliable the story of Diodorus Siculus that the body was embalmed and that after numerous vicissitudes and a delay of two years, the funeral convoy started on the long journey to Egypt. Philip Arrhidaeus, the feeble minded son of Phillip II of Macedonia, who had been chosen by the Macedonian army at Babylon as the successor of Alexander, was put in charge of all the arrangements[3].

Was the intended destination the oasis of Siwah, where the oracle of Ammon had confirmed, some years earlier, his divine Lineage? Or was this a trick of Ptolemy Lagos (337-283), who wanted the body of the conqueror to be buried in Alexandria, in order to fulfil the prophecy of Aristander, Alexander's favorite southsayer, who had predicted "that the country in which his body was buried would be the most prosperous in the world"?

It is difficult to judge. It is, however, reported that when the funeral procession reached Syria, an army was sent by Perdicas to intersept the precious remains and divert the convoy to Aigai in Macedonia.

A battle took place and it is quite possible that the sarcophagus of white pentelic marble found at Sidon in 1886 and originally attributed to Alexander, belonged to one of the dignitaries killed in the engagement. It perhaps contained the body of Ptolemon, who was sent by Perdicas at the head of an army to take the body and who died in the engagement. This sarcophagus is now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Constantinople.

Finally, according to Diodorus, the funeral carriage, a wheeled monument on which the body of the hero was laid, was pulled all the way to Alexandria via Memphis.

An attempt to reconstruct the procession in drawings, based on Diodorus account, was made in the middle of the XVIIIth century by the French Compte de Caylus[4].

Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias and other ancient authors mention that it was in Alexandria that Alexander's body was deposited in a Mausoleum called the *Soma* or *Sema*[5], meaning a body or burial in Greek. A gold sarcophagus and a grandiose building with a great display of wealth were appropriate to receive the remains of a deified hero, who in his

3. Diodorus Siculus, XVIII, 26, 27, 28.

4. Le Compte de Caylus. Sur le char qui porta le corps d'Alexandre. *Histoire de l'Academie Royale.* (1768).

5. *Σήμα* according to Strabo, Zenobius, Sozomenou, *Σώμα* according to the Pseudo Callisthenes.

lifetime had united the Greek and the Oriental worlds.

Can we locate the *Soma* on a map of Ancient Alexandria? Some archaeologists suggest its location at the intersection of the Horreya (Canopic) and Nabi Danial streets – ancient streets L1 and R5, according to el Falaki's plan of the city[6]. It must be stressed, however, that the topography of Ptolemaic and Roman Alexandria is even nowadays very incompletely known. The modern town built in the early XIXth century by Mohammed Ali coincides with the antique city, which lies beneath it. Until 1865, when Mahmoud Bey el Falaki[7] was ordered by the Khedive Ismail to draw a plan of the ancient city (to comply with a request of Napoleon III), no topography was known of the city of the Ptolemies[8] and no reliable archaeological excavation had ever been carried out. The map was completed in 1866, and it also showed, the remains of the massive city fortifications. These walls finally disappeared completely with the urbanization work that started after 1882.

Later, sporadic excavations by Neroutsos, Botti, Hogarth, Noack, Breccia and others revealed sections of the ancient streets and remains of buildings, but no methodical excavations were carried out in the centre of the town. These had to wait until 1960, when the Polish excavations began[9]. These excavations were concentrated in and around the mound of Kom el Dick. They unearthed the Greek and Roman residential quarter at the ancient street R4, and public quarter further to the East with Roman theatre, so called Theatre street, row of public auditoria, imperial bath, acqueduct, large cistern (castellon), two Arab necropolis on the upper levels (VIII-XIII cent.), early Islamic houses, workshops etc.[10]

6. Based on Strabo's description that the *Soma* was part of "The Palaces", Fraser suggests that it may lay near the coast in the Eastern part of the city. P.M. Fraser.

7. Mahmoud el Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'anciénne Alexandrie,* Copenhaguen, (1872).

8. Except for the study undertaken by the French scientists of Bonaparte's expedition. Gratien Le Père, *"Mémoire sur la ville d'Alex." Déscription de l'Egypte,* t. 18, pp. 183-490.

9. K. Michalowski, "Rapport sur la prospection du terrain dans la région de Nabi Danial", *Bull de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université d'Alexandrie,* XII, (1958), pp. 37-39. L. Dabrowski, Polish Research on Ancient Alexandria (in Polish) *Meander,* 11, (1958), pp. 401-405. L. Dabrowski, "Resumé des recherches archaeologiques faites autour de Fort Kom el Dikka en Alexandrie. *Univ. d'Alex., Bull. Fac. Lettres* 14, (1960), pp. 39-49 (with plans). See also J. Lipińska in *Etudes et Travaux* 3, [Trav. Cent. d'Arch. méd., Warsaw (1966)], pp. 182-199, and W. Kubiak, *BSAA* 42, (1967), pp. 47-80. M. Rodziewicz, A Brief Record of the Excavations at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria (1960-1980) in: *BSAA* 44, Alexandrie 1991, pp. 1-70.

10. See: M. Rodziewicz: "Un quartier d'habitation gréco-romain à Kôm el-Dikka", *ET* IX, 1976 pp. 169-210: M. Rodziewicz, "Les habitations Romaines tardives d'Alexandrie à la lumière des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka". *(Alexandrie III),* Varsovie 1984; M. Rodziewicz, "La stratigraphie de l'antique Alexandrie à la lumière des fouilles de Kôm el-Dikka". *ET* XIV, 1990, p. 146 ff, fig. 2.

However the modern plans on the topography of Ancient Alexandria still greatly rely on the Falaki plan.

Mahommed el Falaki located the tomb of Alexander the Great in the center of the city, at the intersection of the Via Canopica (Horreya Av.) and the ancient street R5, not far from the Mosque of Nabi Daniel. Since then the tomb of Alexander the Great has been located on the same place by some other scholars such as Neroutsos, Kiepert and Sieglin. However the modern excavations conducted around the Mosque and its vicinity excluded the possibility of existance of the Ptolemaic Necropolis in this area[11].

Adriani suggested the location of the Soma in the north-eastern part of the ancient city, which lays much closer to the Royal Quarter.

The remains of an ancient thumulus tomb made of alabaster, situated at the present Latin Cemetery, is at least a relative of Macedonian chamber tombs, and marks the area of Ptolemaic Cemetery of the most upper class, or even royal[12].

Let us briefly enumerate the ancient sources that mention the Mausoleum of Alexander.

The fantastic "story of Alexander" written by an author known to us as *Pseudo-Callisthenes* at the beginning of the IIIrd c. A.D. It says that the body of Alexander was placed in a lead sarcophagus and was first transported to Memphis and then to Alexandria.

Strabo[13] (67-23 B.C.), says that the *Sema* is part of Basilea and included the tombs of the kings and that of Alexander. He mentions that Ptolemy transported the body of Alexander to Alexandria and gave it

11. For the location of the digging in the area prior the Polish Excavations (1960-present) see: A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano.* Serie C. Palermo (1963) No. 45, fig. E, pl. 22, fig. 77 (plan of the excavation located just beside the eastern wall of Nabi Danial Mosque). For more recent bibliography of the subject see: M. Rodziewicz, Le debat sur la topographie de la ville antique. Alexandrie entre deux mondes, *ROMM* 46, 4^{e} trimestre (1987), pp. 38-48; M. Rodziewicz, Reports on excavations at Kom el-Dikka: 1960-1980, 1980-1981, 1982, 1983-1984 in *BSAA* 44, pp. 1-118. In this same volume: Rodziewicz-Ahmed Abdel Fatah, Recent discoveries in the Royal Quarter of Alexandria, *BSAA* 44, pp. 131-150; Rodziewicz-Daoud Abde Daoud. Investigation of a trench near the Via Canopica in Alexandria, *BSAA* 44, pp. 151-168. See also M. Rodziewicz, Alexandrie III, op. cit. Varsovie (1984).

12. See Adriani, *Repertorio,* op. cit. p. 242 ff.; N. Bonacasa, Un inedito di Achille Adriani sulla tomba di Alessandro. *Studi Miscellanei* 28, Roma (1991), p. 3 ff.

13. Strabo, *Geogr.* XVII, C.793, 794.

burial in the same location where it lies now, but not in the same coffin... "The one in existence now is of glass instead of the one in which originally Ptolemy had deposited the body which was of gold, that coffin was removed by Ptolemy X, Alexander I, son of Kokkis, called Parisactos...", (Reigned from 107 to 88 B.C.).

Diodorus Siculus[14], who lived at the time of Julius Cesar and Augustus, mentions the "decision not to bury the body in the temple of Amon [at the oasis of Siwah], but in the greatest of the cities of the world, Alexandria. And the body was deposited with great honors, sacrifices and games".

Plutarch, one of the most reliable ancient sources (46 A.D.-127 A.D.), who travelled to Alexandria adds: "After the death of Alexander, Python and Seleucus were sent to the Serapeum to ask the oracle if the body should be sent to Alexandria and the god answered that it should be transported there"[15].

Zenobius[16], a contemporary of Hadrian, mentions that Ptolemy IV Philopator, who reigned from 221-205 B.C., decided to group all his ancestors' remains in one mausoleum and in consequence according to this author, the *Soma* remained empty. Zenobius' description suggests that the Mausoleum built by Philopator and called the *Soma* was not on the same site as the original tomb of Alexander.

According to *Flavius Josephus*[17], Cleopatra VII Philopator in a moment of financial difficulty looted all the wealth of Alexander's tomb.

Pausanias[18], the great traveller of the middle of the IInd c. (160-180 AD), says that Perdicas' intention was to transport the body to Aigai, in Macedonia and that Alexander was venerated after his death as a divinity. According to Pausanias, Ptolemy I Soter (337-283 BC.) deposited the body in Memphis and it was Ptolemy II Philadelpheus (309-247 BC.) who transported it to Alexandria.

Dion Cassius[19], the historian who lived between 155-235 AD and was consul of Africa in the reign of Septimus Severus, reports Augustus' request to see the body of Alexander. "But touching the nose he did some damage to it. Asked if he wanted to visit the tombs of the Ptolemies,

14. Diodorus Siculus, XVIII.
15. Plutarch, *Alex.* 76.
16. Zenobius, III, 94; cf. Pausanias I, 7.
17. Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apion.,* II, 57.
18. Pausanias, 1, 6, 3.
19. Dion Cassius, LI, 16 and LXX
18. Pausanias, 1, 6, 3.
19. Dion Cassius, LI, 16 and LXXV, 13.

he refused, saying that: "I came to see a king and not dead men". He also mentions that Severus placed in the Mausoleum all the secret books "so none could read the books nor see the body".

Lucanus[20], the poet (39-65 AD.), in his epic poem Pharsalia says that the mausoleum had a pyramidal dome and stood surelevated forming a tumulus. This is the only description mentioning a pyramidal superstructure over a vault.

Suetonius[21] claims that it was Augustus who refused to see the tombs of the Ptolemies, saying that "I came to see a king and not *mortus*". He ordered the removal of the body of Alexander from the sarcophagus to honor it, placed a gold diadem and scattered flowers on the tomb.

Another author, *Antiochius Grypus,* also reports the substitution of the gold sarcophagus by one made of glass or alabaster by Ptolemy X Alexander I (107-88) because of the cupidity of this king.

Achilles Tatius[22], who lived in the IIIrd c. A.D., places the *Soma* in the center of the town in a quarter that took the name of *Soma* from this same monument.

Regretfully, we do not have any reliable ancient artistic representations showing inequivocably Alexander's Mausoleum.

The representation on a Roman lamp in the National Museum of Poznan[23] and others at the British Museum[24] and the Museum of l'Ermitage[25], are interpreted by some scholars as showing Alexandria. They see a depiction of the main monuments of the royal necropolis with the *Soma* pictured as a stone building with a pyramidal roof.

Quite recently the proposed identification of the "panorama" of Alexandria depicted on the lamps lost its value in the light of the newest investigation done by Bailey, who convincingly proved that the lamps cannot be connected in any way with Alexandria, but with Italy and North Africa[26].

20. Lucanus, *Pharsalia,* VIII, 694: X, 19.
21. Suetonius, *vit. Aug.* XVIII.
22. Achilles Tatius, V, I.
23. M.L. Bernhard, Topographie d'Alexandrie: le tombeau d'Alexandre et le mausolé d'Auguste, *Rev. Archéol.* (1956) I, pp. 129-156, and Lampki starozytne, Warszawa, (1955), p. 137.
24. M.B. Walters, *Cat. of the Greek and Rom. lamps in the British Museum,* (1914). [=Guide Greek and Roman life, (1920), fig. 28, p. 38].
25. O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Tonlampen,* Kaiserliche Ermitage, St. Petersburg, (1914).
26. See D.M. Bailey, Alexandria, Carthage and Ostia. *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani,* 2. Roma 1984, pp. 265-272, pl. XLVII. (Lamps later dating to early 3rd cent. A.D.) Group 7 – false examples. Forgeries made in Naples, Bailey *op. cit.* p. 269.

However on the sculpted sarcophagus cover of Julius Philosyrius of Ostia[26a], we recognise some features fitting to the imagination of ancient Alexandria, built by the literary testimonies, particularly of Strabo text. The Pharos seems to be there, as well as the column of Diocletian. A round tower, with a conical roof, is identified with the *Soma.* If this interpretation is correct, we have a testimony that the *Soma* and the monuments in its immediate vicinity survived after Diocletian's sack of the town. The column was erected in 296 after the rebellion of the Alexandrians[27].

Herodian[28] reports in detail the visit of Caracalla to the *Soma,* as does a later historian of the Christian era, *John of Antiochia.* In his history from Adam to 518 A.D., the latter says that when Caracalla, entered the Tomb of Alexander, he removed his tunic, his ring, his belt and all other precious ornaments and deposited them on the coffin.

It should be noted that in 215 Caracalla sacked the town of Alexandria but apparently respected the Mausoleum of Alexander.

Unfortunately for Alexandria, the sack of Caracalla was neither the first nor the last of its vicissitudes.

In the IIIrd c. under Claudius II (269), Aurelian (273) and Diocletian (296) terrible repressions against the population of Alexandria destroyed nearly the whole of the city[29].

Natural disasters contributed also to the devastation of the ancient city. The earthquakes of the 4th century possibly changed some areas beyond recognition. Fallen buildings were not reconstructed then, but their elements were reemployed in other private and public edifices. Then the ruined eastern area of the Ptolemaic city was left extra muros, and the Ptolemaic Royal Quarter was deserted. Most probably the Royal cemetery followed the fate of the palaces and the precise location of the tomb of Alexander the Great has been forgotten.

We do not have historical evidence on any particular action against the tomb of Alexander the Great in late antiquity. However some historical sources depict remarkable destructive tendencies in Alexandrian society, when under the emperor Theodosius (379-395), Christianity became the state religion.

26a. Ch. Picard, *BCH,* 76, 1952, p. 92, fig. 14.

27. One of the numerous panels of opus sectile (IV c.A.D.) found at Kenchreai probably depicts an Alexandrian port. But is this a port on lake Mareotis or a sea port? The scene is worth been studied and its buildings interpreted. See Leila Ibrahim, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth,* Vol. II, Leiden (1976).

28. Herodian, IV, 8, 9. cf. P. Benoît and J. Schwartz *Etud. pap.* 7, (1948), 17-23.

29. Mommsen, *Rom. Gesch.,* V, 570.

After the end of the IV c., we do not have any reliable witness claiming to have seen the *Soma,* and it is understandable why St. John Chrysostom[30] the Bishop of Constantinople (344 or 347-407) asks in his homily, wanting to emphasize the futility of this world: "Tell me where the Sema of Alexander is?".

By asking that question, the prelate was making an example of one of the most famous buildings known by his people to have certainly existed, but which all were aware had totally disappeared. He knew quite well that no one could reply: "I know where the Sema is".

But Chrysostom also warned against the talismanic habit of adorning necks and ankles with necklaces made of coins bearing the head of Alexander with the ram horns. This is a further indication that his cult was deeply rooted even in the second half of the IVth c. A.D.

There is also a further mention of the Tomb of Alexander at the decline of the Ancient world, which is included in the Synaxari of Alexandria[31]. It says that at the time of the Patriarch Theophilus (385-412) while digging the foundations of the church of the prophets Elias and John a slab of marble with three "θ's" was found. It was said that this slab covered a treasure of the time of Alexander. The church was called *Dimos* or *Demos* and was built on an elevation. It is probable that this location was chosen on purpose in order to sanctify pagan ground by the veneration of the relics of two prophets. But there are also written testimonies for the existence of an early Christian church erected in this vicinity called the church of Alexander[32].

Procopius[33], (end VIth c.-562) says that until the reign of Justinian, sacrifices were made in honour of Ammon and Alexander the Macedon. A representation of Alexandria has survived to our day in a mosaic of the VIth c., at Jerash. It bears the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ in Greek and represents the city surrounded by tall walls[34]. A building with a tholos roof

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30. Ed. Montfaucan, X. 625. Σώζομεν. Ιστορ. εκλ. 7.25. Ἰωάν. Χρυσοστ. επιστολή προς Κορινθίους ομιλία 26 κ. 12 "Ποῦ γάρ, είπέ μοι, τό σῆμα Ἀλεξάνδρου, δεῖξόν μοι, ..."

31. Synaxari of Alex., *P.O.I.,* pp. 131-133, 345-317 Bibl. Nat. de Paris, Mss. arabes 203, fo. 283a.

32. There is a tradition among the monks of the Monastery of St. Makarios in the oasis of Wadi Natrun, that some bones alleged to be the remains of St. John the Baptist and other martyrs were transported in the 7th century from this church and deposited in the Monastry's ossuary. This eventualy coincides with the destruction of the church of Alexander by the Arabs and explains the attempt made by Christians to safeguard what were believed to be holy relics, in a far remote monastery of the Libyan desert.

33. Προκοπ. *περί κτισμ.* σ. 2.

34. Ch. Picard, *BCH,* 76, (1952), I, p. 76; fig. 7 and 8.

is interpreted by some scholars as the *Soma,* while in the neighbouring building they see the temple assigned to the cult of Alexander. Another important building with a coupola may well be the old church of St. Mark.

The question that arises is: how can we accept the existence of the mausoleum of Alexander nearly two centuries after the presumable date of its disappearance? This can be explained if we say that the artist was copying an early protoype or if he was depicting an idealized view showing the most famous buildings that had been known to exist in the great town. This can lead to the supposition of the existence of a prototype of the Ist c. AD or earlier, which might have been the common source of inspiration for the lamps, the sarcophagus and the mosaic.

In the year 641-2 Alexandria was taken by the Arab general Amr. It must be accepted that notwithstanding the repeated destructions, Alexandria was still a sizable city, as Amr in his report to the Caliph mentions that the town had: 4.000 palaces, 4.000 baths, 400 arenas and theaters and 1.200 gardens. Although these figures are exaggerations, what remained of ancient Alexandria obviously impressed the general.

The Arabs referred to Alexander as *Eskander* or *Dzoul Karnein,* the "Sire with the double horns" because of his portrait with ram horns on the Ptolemaic coins. The horns symbolized strength but also spiritual power. Often he was also called a Nabi; a Prophet: *Nabi Eskender.* And Alexandria was named and is still called *Eskendereya.*

Although one should be sceptical as to whether the Great Library of Alexandria was destroyed by Amr and of the manner in which it is described, it can be said with certainity that the destruction of what had been spared until then of the Great City followed the Arab conquest. The town totally lost its importance and the destruction was completed by the Turks at the beginning of the XVIth century.

But Alexander and his tomb are remembered in the Arab tradition and are referred to by Macoudi[35], who mentions a modest construction existing in Alexandria until 943-944 called the "Tomb of the Prophet and king Eskender".

Then it seems that we have a gap and we hear no more about Alexander's tomb for five centuries.

The destruction of Alexander's Mausoleum must not surprise us, as besides repeated disasters due to man, tremendous earthquakes,

35. Macoudi: *Les prairies d'or,* transl. by O. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, t. II, p. 259.

sometime with tidal waves, caused the subsidence of the geological plateau, which led to the poor state of preservation of all the ancient and early medieval town[36]. Another famous and enormous Alexandrian building, the Pharos has completely disappeared[37]. But while for the Pharos the location is known with certitude and some of its architectural remains can still be seen, the *Soma* seems to have totally vanished.

In the early part of the XVIth c., Leo the African[38] (1494-1552) sought for the vestiges of Alexander's tomb and was shown a small building venerated by the Mohammedans who deposited in it offerings.

The traveller Marmol[39] in 1546 was also shown a small building venerated by the Arabs as the tomb of the Prophet Eskender in the center of the town among the ruins. Similar mention is made by the travellers Geo Sandys[40] and Michael Radzivill Sierotka[41], at the end of the XVI c. (1582-1584). J.J. Ampère says that the Arabs of Alexandria showed in the XV c. the tomb of the prophet Iskander[42].

At that time the once great city, numbered probably only 6.000[43] inhabitants. The natives had withdrawn from the Graeco-Roman town to the site of the Heptastadion that connected the mainland to the island of Pharos and had been reclaimed over the centuries by the Nile's alluvium.

In the year 1731, the French traveller Bonamy visited Alexandria and made drawings of what he considered had been the *Soma* and other ancient ruins. He also drew a map (Fig. 1) of the ancient city and tried to identify the ruins with ancient sources. His plan however is very sketchy

36. Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz, "Graeco-Islamic Elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of the new discoveries; Remarks on early Mediaeval Alexandria, *Graeco-Arabica,* Vol. I, Athens (1982).

37. The Pharos had been partly preserved up to the medieval times as it was restored then transformed into a mosque, but was totally destroyed in 1303 during a tremendous earthquake.

38. Descrizione dell'Africa (for this work see R. Brown's exhaustive ed. of J. Powys's translation (1600), Description of Africa, 3 vols. (Hakluyt Soc., no 92-4, London, 1896).

39. Marmol, *De l'Egypte.* III, p. 276, lib. XI, cap. 14.

40. Geo Sandys, *Relation of a journey,* cf. H. Tierch, "Die Alex. Konigsnecropole", *JDI,* XXV, (1910), pp. 53-92.

41. *Hierosolymitana peregrinatio* illustrissimi domini Nicolai Christopheri Radzivilli, ... Ex idiomate Polonico in latinum linguam translate... Thoma trelere interprete, Brunsbergae, (1601) and in Polish, Krakow, (1925), p. 120.

42. J.J. Ampère Voyage en Egypte. Rev. des deux Mondes. (1846).

43. According to M.F. Awad the estimated population of Alexandria in 1806 was 6.000 inhabitants, in 1821 12.000 inhabitants, in 1835 52.000, in 1868 200.000; the census of 1897 listed 316.699 souls, of 1917 458.539, of 1947 949.446, rising to 1.516.234 in 1960 *ROMM 46,* (1987) 4.

and locations of existing then monuments such as "Pompey's Pillar" and Serapeum are put evidently on the wrong side of the Via Canopica. Unfortunatelly the Soma and Paneum is noted on his plan erroneously on the northern side of the Canopic street. Therefore it is not certain whether Bonamy associated the Soma and Paneum with the hill Kom el Dick and Nabi Danial Mosque, which were located south of the Via Canopica. All other plans of the city depict Kom el Dick hill and Serapeum on the southern side of the Canopic street (comp. figs 2,3). Therefore Bonamy contributed only to the existing confusion, and produced a pictorial equivalent of misty legend, possibly drown from memory.

Certainly the natives, living outside the city walls, in their small village, on the land formed by the alluvium of the Nile on the ancient Heptastadion, could not discern among the ruins of the ancient buildings the remains of the *Soma,* for the very reason that in fact no remains were left. Failing that they "invented" a supposed location – actually more than one – where they could give free access to their devotion to the founder of the town.

What also, probably stimulated their zeal to find a substitute for the Mausoleum was the fact that European travellers were increasingly visiting the ruins of the ancient city. Armed with translations of the ancient authors they asked to be shown the remains of the famous ancient buildings and of the tomb of Alexander. For the shrewed local dragomans it was lucrative to guide those early "tourists" around the ruins and certainly rewarding to answer positively to the question: Can you show me King Eskender's tomb?

Two buildings won the preference of the natives and were shown as Alexander's tomb. Their choice was not picked out at random but dictated by local tradition, which generation after generation had preserved faint memories of the *Soma.* The building shown in earlier times was the old church of St. Athanasius (fig. 4), transformed after the Arab conquest into the mosque of Attarine[44].

In the inner court of this mosque, one could see an impressive pharaonic sarcophagus of granite covered with hieroglyphs (fig. 5). We now know, after the decipherment of the hieroglyphs, that it originally contained the body of Pharaoh Nectanebo II (Nekthar-heb), the very last Pharaoh. But so persuasive was the way the natives presented it as Alexander's tomb, that at the beginning of the XIXth c. a dispute arose between the French and the English about its possession.

44. The mosque of Attarine as we know it nowadays was built later in the middle of the XIXth c. on the same location.

Finally in 1803 the so-called sarcophagus of Alexander made its way to the British Museum. It is said that the inhabitants of Alexandria deeply resented the expatriation of this relic, which they had worshipped as the tomb of the Prophet Eskender for centuries. This sarcophagus was described in detail by Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke[45] who believed that the courtyard of St. Athanasius' mosque with the numerous ancient columns was in fact the *Soma.*

It is worth noting at this point that the Pseudo-Callisthenes says that Alexander was not the son of Philip but that his father was Nectanebo, an Egyptian magician who exercised his art at the Macedonian court. The parallel with the last Egyptian Pharaoh is obvious.

But how can we explain the transportation of this sarcophagus from Saïs to Alexandria and its presence in the Paleochristian church of St. Athanasius? It is believed that this sarcophagus, like other similar ones, had earlier been used by the Ptolemies and later by the Christian bishops for their own burial. It was a readily available monument of fine quality in the declining Alexandria.

In view of gathered informations mentioned above, we have to dismiss the possibility that this sarcophagus contained the body of Alexander.

The other location alleged to be Alexander's tomb was the site of the mosque of Nabi Danial. These two mosques Nabi Danial and Athanasius are not far away from each other, and some confusion during the dark ages of Alexandria can be justified.

The present mosque of Nabi Danial (fig. 6) was built at the end of the XVIIIth[46] century and restored in 1823 by Mohammed Ali. A smaller shrine, probably the mosque of Dzoul Karnein – the Sire with the two horns – preexisted on this site[47]. The location is very close to the intersection of the ancient Via Canopica and the street R5. In its crypt there is a catafalque, made in the moslem tradition. It is said to contain the remains of the scholar and venerated teacher prophet Daniel and his companion Sidi Lokman el Hakim, a religious story-teller.

The Arab legend of the Prophet Daniel appeared during the IXth

45. D. Clarke, *The Tomb of Alexander, a dissertation on the sarcophagus from Alex. and now in the British Museum.* Cambridge (1805).

46. According to Fraser the foundation of this mosque may go back to the XVth c. P.M. Fraser op. cit., p. 38.

47. Cited by Ibn Abd-el-Hakim, who died in 871 A.D. in his account of the mosques of Alexandria. This author stipulates that "the mosque of Dzoul-Karnein was situated near the gate of the city and its exit. [p. 484 transl. Bouriant *Mém. Miss. Arch. Franç.* XVII. I (1893)].

century and was told by two astronomers: Mohamed Ibn Kathir el-Farghani and Abou Ma'shar[48]. The story is interesting because it differs greatly from the Bible and has similarities with Alexander's story. It is mentioned that "a young Jew, Daniel, was persecuted and chased from Syria by the idolaters whom he had tried to convert. An old man appeared in a dream urging him to go to war against the infidels and promising victory over all of Asia. Daniel acquired numerous followers in Egypt, where he had sought refuge, and built Alexandria. Obeying what the old man had ordered him in his dream, he made war against the infidels. After a successful expedition, he returned to Alexandria and died of old age. His body was placed in a golden sarcophagus inlaid with precious stones, but the Jews stole it to mint coins and replaced it with a stone sarcophagus".

A Russian monk, Vassili Grigorovich Barskij[49], visited Alexandria in 1727 and 1730 and made a plan of the city. Near the Kom el Dick mound he drew a small Mohammedan shrine, among ruins, that could well be the predecessor of the Nabi Danial Mosque. I cannot refer to his written description of the city as Barskij's work is only partially translated and only fragments have been studied.

The Danish Captain Norden visited the town in 1737, but tried in vain to find the tomb of Alexander[50].

Similarly, James Bruce 30 years later in 1768 looked for the tomb of the Great Macedonian, "asking the Arabs, the Jews, the Greeks[51] and others, but none were able to show him the location".

However, at the end of the XVIIIth c., Sestrini was shown the sarcophagus in the Attarine mosque as having been Alexander's tomb.

In 1803, a Russian prelate from Kiev, the archimandrite Konstantios[52], tried without success to locate Alexander's Mausoleum, noting that he... "looked in vain for... the tomb of Alexander the Great, the tomb of the man whose life's course was above the faith of common mortals..."; he continues, saying that "until the XVth c. the location was known but now even the tradition of this tomb has been lost...", adding that "beyond any doubt the remains survived under the great masses of the city's ruins".

It is interesting to note that, strangely enough Konstantios, in his writing, and Barskij[53] in his plan do not mention either of the Mosques. Were they shown one of the Mosques as being the location of Alexander's tomb, and was it because of bigoty or because of their superior knowledge of history that they do not even mention these humble Mahommedan shrines as possible remains of the famous Mausoleum?

A new impulse was given to the legend of the tomb of Alexander the Great in the middle of the XIXth century. In 1850[54] a certain Scilitzis of the known Greek family of Alexandria, dragoman-interpreter to the Russian consulate of the town, produced a fantastic story.

It happened that, while guiding some European travellers entrusted to his care, he entered the crypt of the Nabi Danial Mosque. He "descended into a narrow and dark subterranean passage and came to a wooden wormeaten door. Looking through the cracks of the planks he saw a body with the head slightly raised lying in a crystal coffin. On the head, there was a golden diadem. Around were scattered papyri, scrolls and books. He tried to remain longer in the vault but he was pulled away by one of the monks of the Mosque, and notwithstanding his repeated attempts to return, he was forbidden the area of the Crypt. Scilitzis apparently made a written report to the Russian Consul and to the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria[55].

It is obvious that Scilitzis had read Dion Cassius and may have had access to the subterranean passage under the Mosque, but he is not telling the truth. How can we believe that in the humid climate of Alexandria, papyri and books could have survived for over two millenia?

Unlike Ambroise Scilitzis's story, which may be described as an enormous hoax[56], we cannot dismiss as such the written report of

48. A. Bernand, "Alexandrie la Grande", *Rev. Arch.,* (1956, 5).
E. Combe, cited by E. Breccia, "Le tombeau d'Alex. le Grand", in *Le Musée Grec.-Rom.* 1925-1931 (1932), pp. 37-48 and pl. XXVII-XXXI.

49. Grigorovich Barskij. *Η περιήγηση του Βασιλείου Γ.Β. στους Άγιους Τόπους της Ανατολής* από το 1723 ως το 1747, εκδιδομένη από την Ορθόδοξη Παλαιστινιακή Εταιρεία, με επιμέλεια του N. Barzoukov. Πετρούπολη (1885-1887).

50. F.L. Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia,* translated from the original, p. 33. London (1757).

51. M.F. Awad [ROMM 46, (1987) 4] mentions that in the census of 1801, there were 40 Greek families in Alexandria. It should be noted that after the Arab conquest, there is no reference to the Greek community giving information about Alex.'s tomb. The reports are always Arabs.

52. *Αρχαία Αλεξάνδρεια* – Περιγραφή του Κιαίβου – Αικατερινο-Γραικού Μοναστηρίου – Αρχιμανδρίτου Κωνσταντίου. Μόσκβα (1803).

53. Barskij plan contains several annotations of the monuments and locations considered of importance.

54. A. Max de Zogheb, *Etudes sur l'Anc. Alex.,* (1909).

55. Th. Moshonas of the Patriarchate of Alexandria looked for this document in the Patriarchate's archives but could not trace it. B. Μοσχονάς, "Ο Τάφος του Μ. Αλεξάνδρου", *Κρίκος,* London, (Ιούνιος 1957).

56. A. Bernand, "Alexandrie la Grande", *Rev. Arch.* (1956, I), p. 235.

Mahmoud Bey el Falaki. This learned Egyptian astronomer and engineer visited the crypts under the Nabi Danial Mosque some ten years after Scilitzis while trying to carry out the difficult task of drawing a map of the ancient town as ordered in 1865 by the Khedive Ismail[57].

In Mahmoud Bey's report, he says that: "During my visit to the vaults under that building I entered a large room with an arched roof built on the ground level of the old town. From this paved room inclined corridors started out in four different directions. Because of their length and their bad state I could not survey them entirely. The rich quality of the stones used in the construction and numerous other indications confirmed my belief that these subterranean passages must have led to the tomb of Alexander the Great. I therefore, contemplated returning and resuming my investigations, but unfortunately this was forbidden to me by a superior order and all the entrance ways were walled up"[58].

El Falaki was not an archaeologist, so we can be sceptical about his conclusions, but I would not question his sincerity and he must be considered as a reliable witness.

His description raises some questions: Who decided and why, to force el Falaki to suspend his survey of the subterranean passages? Falaki was working for a project sponsored by the reigning Khedive. Why did he not appeal to his powerful patron? Why did he drop his investigation?

But, before the end of the XIXth century, we have a story that must be taken with reservation. It concerns the alleged discovery made in 1879 by a chief mason and the Cheih of the Nabi Danial Mosque. The story goes that while doing some masonry work in the basement they supposedly entered the vault and reached an inclined subterranean passage. They both walked for some distance and could discern some monuments made of granite ending with an angular summit. The mason wanted to proceed further but the cheih ordered him to return. The entrance was walled up and the mason was asked not to reveal that incident[59].

The specific connection of Alexander with the site of Nabi Danial mosque is attested at least from the earlier part of the XIXth c. by Yacub Artin Pasha, who wrote to Zogheb[60].

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57. It is worth noting that M. Dimitsas in his important work on Alexandria, based on litterary sources does not mention Scilitzis story. Μ.Γ. Δήμιτσας, *Ιστορία της Αλεξάνδρειας*, εν Αθήναις (1885).

58. A. Max de Zogheb, *Etudes sur l'anc. Alex.*, (1909), p. 160.

59. A. Max de Zogheb, *Etudes sur l'anc. Alex.*, (1909), pp. 161-162.

60. "Aussi loin que se reporte ma mémoire, je me souviens de la mosquée Nebi Daniel, et ce souvenir est indissolublement lié dans mon esprit avec le nom d'Alex; car il m'a toujours été dit qu'elle contenait le tombeau du Macedonien, et je crois même qye c'etait en 1850 la croyance générale à Alex." quoted by Fraser p. 39.

During the second half of the XIXth century, when archaeology made its appearance as a discipline, we do have some attempts of excavation aimed at unearthing evidence about the *Soma.* Schliemann waited for some time in Alexandria hoping to obtain official permission to dig around the mosque of Nabi Danial.

While waiting, he did some digging near the seashore at Ramleh and discovered a Ptolemaic necropolis. Schlieman, however, made it clear that the only place he felt the *Soma* could be found was in the vicinity of the Nabi Danial Mosque and the digging of Ramleh was undertaken only so as not to remain idle while waiting for the permission, which was never granted[61].

Botti reports that Ioannides discovered in 1893 a cemetery of the last century of the Ptolemies while searching for the Tomb of Alexander[62].

Neroutsos[63] writes that in 1874, while digging the foundations of two houses for Kattaoui Bey and a third in front of the mosque of Nabi Danial, parallel to the street, large granit columns were found as well as others of marble fallen nearby and one of these columns is still there, in situ.

Botti mentions that he saw opposite the Kattaoui building, columns lying seven meters under the level of the ground. Botti[64] also refers to an early Christian church near Kom el Dick, called the church of Alexander. Adriani however proved that most of the remains can be associated with the ancient colonnade of street R5, whose part has been excavated and exhibited to public. See: A. Adriani, *Repertorio,* Serie C, op. cit. No. 46, pl. 24, fig. 89.

Hogarth undertook a number of digs near Kom el Dick at the end of the XIXth c.[65].

More excavations were carried out in the first half of the XXth c. by

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61. This is reported in a monograph written by a Prince Tewfik, *The Tomb of Alex. the Great,* which I read in the library of the Greco-Roman Museum of Alex. in 1954, but I was unable to trace again in 1988.

62. G. Botti, Plan de la ville d'Alex. a l'époque Ptolemaique. *Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* (1898) Alexandria.

63. T.D. Neroutsos, *l'Ancienne Alex.,* (1888).

64. G. Botti, *Plan de la ville d'Alex. A l'époque Ptolemaique,* Alexandrie (1898), and Additions au "Plan de la Ville d'Alex. etc.," *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* Alexandria (1898), fasc. 1, p. 55.

65. D.G. Hogarth and E.F. Benson, Research in *Alex. Egypt expl. Fund,* Arch. Rep. 1894/1895, p. 13.

Breccia[66], Thiersch[67], Adriani[68], Gaindor[69], Victor Guirguis[70] and Wace[71]. An important work on Alexandria was also written by Alexandre Max de Zogheb[72].

All these excavations revealed the existence of groups of huge ancient ruins around Kom el Dick hill and not far away from the Nabi Danial mosque.

It must be said that until the middle of our century the Egyptian authorities were reluctant to grant permission for excavations in the vicinity of the mosque of Nabi Danial, not only on religious grounds but also because some of the members of the reigning dynasty were buried nearby.

After the abolition of the monarchy in 1953, the authorities became less sensitive and more open to scientific excavation in the area. Thus, in 1960, we have for the first time a methodical dig by the Polish archaeological expedition, which are in progress[73].

The Polish excavations continued for some 30 years and brought to light burials of the Arab period[74], a well preserved small Roman theater, remains of late Roman bath, many other constructions and a vast quantity of material from large ancient buildings[75].

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66. E. Breccia, "La tomba di Aless. Magno", *Bull. Arch. N.S.,* 7 (1929-1930), p. 206-208, *"Alexandrea ad Aegyptum",* pp. 83-86, Berg (1914) and "Sondages près de la Mosquée Nabi Daniel et dans la rue el Bardissy", *Le Musée Grec.-Rom.* (1925-1931), pp. 48-52.

67. H. Thiersch, "Die Alexandrinische Königsnecropole", *JDI,* XXV, (1910), pp. 55-97.

68. A. Adriani, "Saggio di una pianta arch. di Aless.", *Ann. du Musée Greco-Romain,* fasc. I (1932-1933); *id.* fasc. III (1935-1939); *id.* "Scavi e scoperte Alessandrine, (1949-1952)", *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* Alexandria (1956), fasc. 41, pp. 1-10.

69. P. Gaindor, "Alexandrie, Recherche du tombeau d'Alexandre", *Chron. Egypt.* X, (1935), pp. 276-281.

70. Unpublished reports on the excavations in the possession of the library of the Grec.-Rom. Museum in Alex.

71. A.J. Wace, Unpublished reports dated 1952, in possession of the Faculty of Arts, Univ. of Alex.

72. A.M. de Zogheb, *Recherche sur l'Ancienne Alex.* pp. 151-174.

73. See: M. Rodziewicz, "Alexandrie", vol. III op. cit.; id. *BSAA* 44, Alex. 1991, pp. 1-168; id. Twenty years of Activities of the Polish Excavation in Alexandria, *Africana Bulletin* No. 31, Warsaw 1982, pp. 11-18.

74. See: M. Rodziewicz, "Alexandrie" I, III op. cit. See also reports on excavations at Kom el Dikka in *Études et Travaux,* Varsovie vol. I-XIV; id. Twenty years of Activities of the Polish Excavation Mission in Alexandria. *Africana Bulletin* Nr. 31, Warsaw (1982), pp. 11-18. TL. Dabrowski, "Two Arab Necroples Discovered at Kom el Dikka, Alexandria". *Trav. du Centre d'Archaéologie Méd. de l'Acad. Polonaise de Science,* III, pp. 171-180.

75. The fort Kom el Dick was built by Marmont as the main fortress of Alexandria. The name Kom el Dick or Kom el Dikka appears in the litterature for the first time in 763 A.H. (1361 A.D.), when mentioned by the Egyptian writer Al Nuwayri. See Et. Combe, "Note de Topographie et d'Hist." d'Alex., *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* Alexandria (1946), fasc. 36, (1943-1944), pp. 142-143.

In the area of the theater the Polish archaeologists found a small marble head of Alexander, probably datable to the second century A.D. Zsolt Kiss, who published this "New Portrait of Alexander", believes that this modest sculpture shows the Macedonian deified hero, with the hairs arranged as a Zeus[76].

A water cistern under the Nabi Danial mosque was also investigated. However, no evident remains of the *Soma* were brought to light, although the excavations took place in the immediate vicinity of its supposed location.

The excavations have added much to our knowledge of the topography of ancient and medieval Alexandria without answering the question of the location of Alexander's tomb[77]. They finally proved that the region around the Kom el Dick hill, situated in the very close neighbourhood of Nabi Danial Mosque, had been used as residendial and recreation part of the city from Ptolemaic, through Roman, till early Islamic period. No traces of Ptolemaic Necropolis – Soma – had been spotted there. See: M. Rodziewicz, "Alexandrie" vol. III, op. cit.

But the hope of the discovery of the tomb of the Macedonian hero has also lured non-scientists who persist in searching for the splendid Tomb. A typical case is that of a stubborn Alexandrian Greek waiter, Stelios Koumoutsos, who has spent over 3 decades trying to persuade the Egyptian and the Greek archaeological authorities to let him excavate at a secret location which holds Alexander's remain[78].

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76. Zsolt Kiss, "Un Nouveau Portrait d'Alex. le Grand". *Etudes et Travaux* Tome 10, IV, pp. 119-131.

77. Zsolt Kiss, "Un Nouveau Portrait d'Alex. le Grand". *Etudes et Travaux* Tome 10, IV, p. 120. "Depuis bien longtemps on situait dans ces parages [Mosquée Nabi Daniel] le fameux Sema, le fastueux tombeau... d'Alex. le Grand. Tous les efforts dans le but de retrouver cet édifice n'ont jusqu'hui rien donné". See remarks on Soma in Rodziewicz, "Alexandrie" vol. III, chapter I-IV, op. cit.

78. A file with his theories and all pertinent documentation was deposited in 1979 with the Greek Minister of the Culture. A. Bernand refers to this same person in p. 236 of his important work, *Alexandrie la Grande.* Stelios Koumoutsos continued his attempts until 1991, the year he died. He did apparently obtain permission, and dug sporadically in an unscientific manner, at several locations of the city, but lacking the vasic topographical knowledge of ancient Alexandria he was led to believe that he was on the right path whenever he did reach the remains of the extended ancient sewage system. Panaigyptia, N. 41, Athens (September 1991).

The other case is more original and concerns an attempt using "psychic archaeology" made in the late 70's in a "search for Alexander the Great's tomb". It is reported that with the assistance of an Egyptian archaeologist a hole was opened from inside the crypt of the Nabi Danial mosque through a brick wall in an attempt to confirm a "psychic vision" claiming the existence of a subterranean tunnel. However as in the three previous cases – Scilitzis', Falaki's and the mason's – at the last moment the investigation was stopped and orders were given to close up the opening[79].

But the mystery of the tomb of Alexander the Great, far from having been elucidated, remains[80]. It is a vivid example of a deeply rooted veneration of a deified hero of the Greco-Roman world that survived Chrsitianity and found, later, a continuity in the Arab tradition.

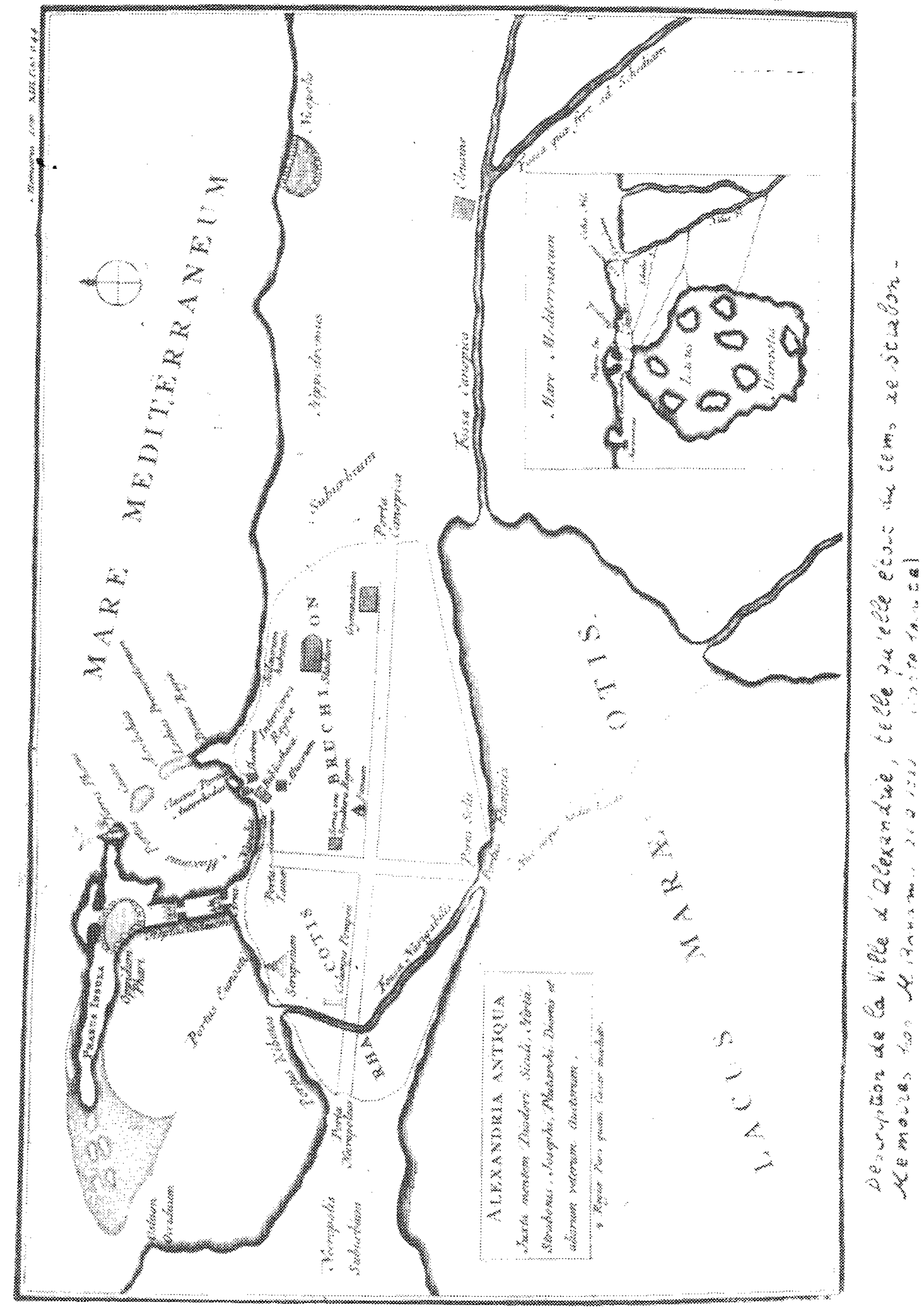
HARRY E. TZALAS
Elassonos Street 14, Voula 166 73, Attica

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

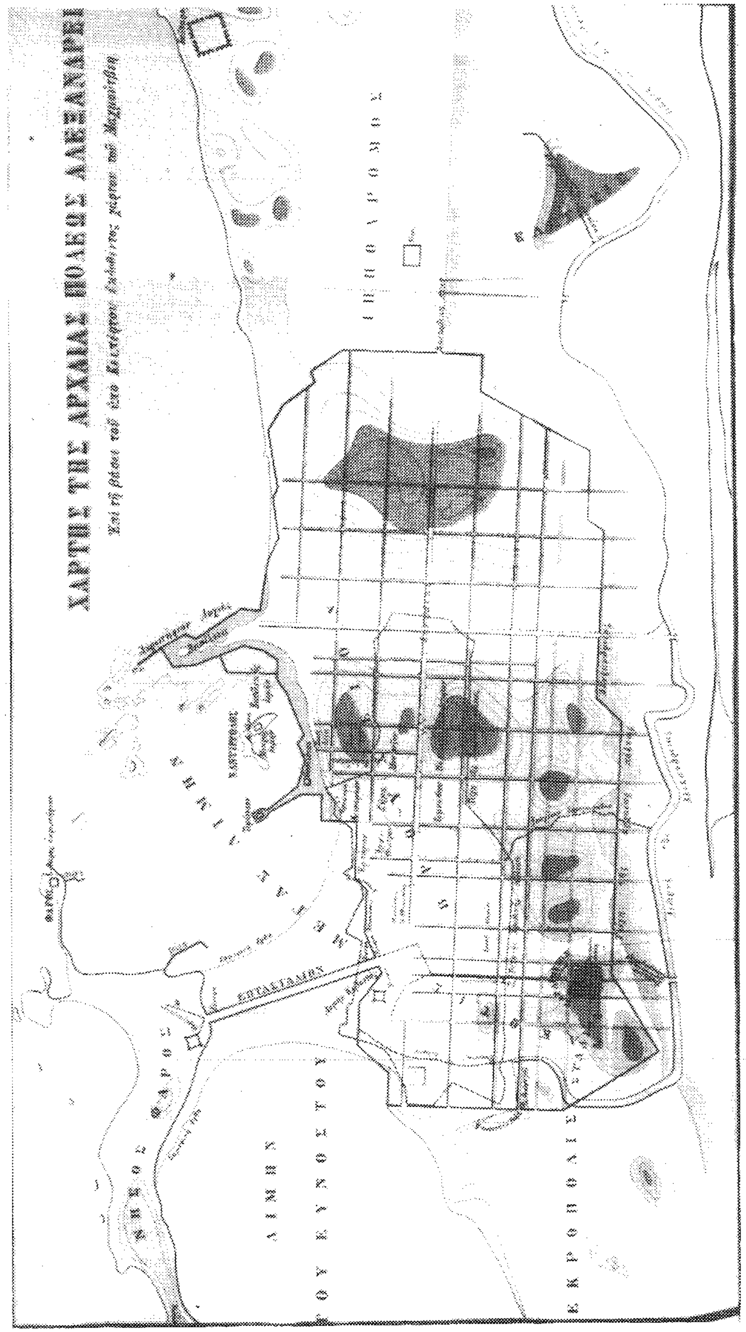
BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BSAA = *Bulletin Societé Archéologique d'Alexandrie*
ET = *Etudes et Travaux* (Trav. Cent. d'Arch. méd.), Varsovie
Fraser = P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* Vol. I, Oxford (1972)
JDI = *Jahrbuch des König. Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*
ROMM = *La Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée.*

79. Stephan A. Schwartz, *The Alexandrian Project,* New York (1983).
80. During February and October of 1992, the Greek press and several foreign papers, reported an announcement made by an archaeologist, Mrs Liana Souvaltzi, stating that during an excavation at Siwa a building believed to be the tomb of Alexander was found. No conclusive evidence was given so it only adds a further, most improbable, version to the legend of the lost tomb.

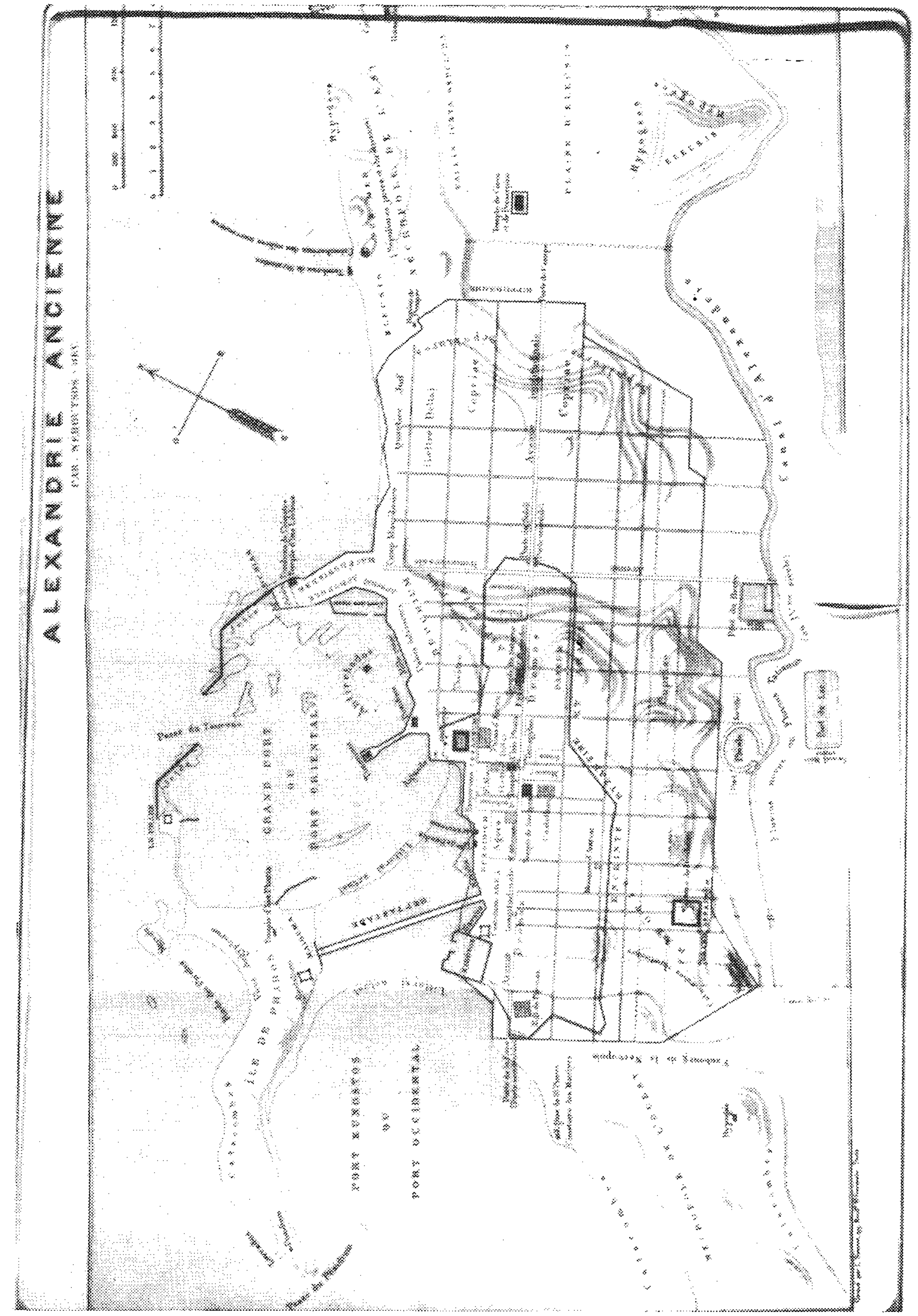
I am greatly indebted to Prof. M. Rodziewicz who kindly read this text and made valued comments.



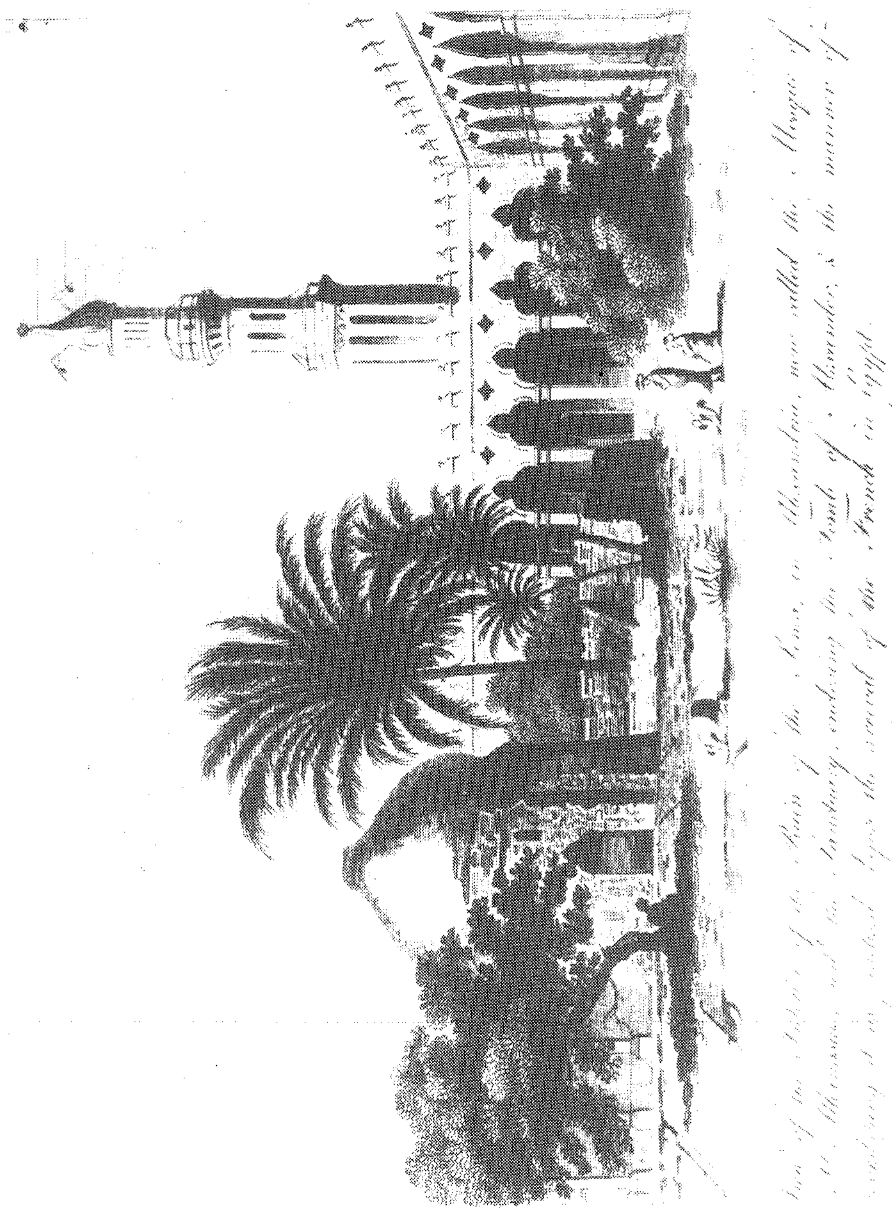
1. Alexandrie Antique, Plan by M. Bonamy.



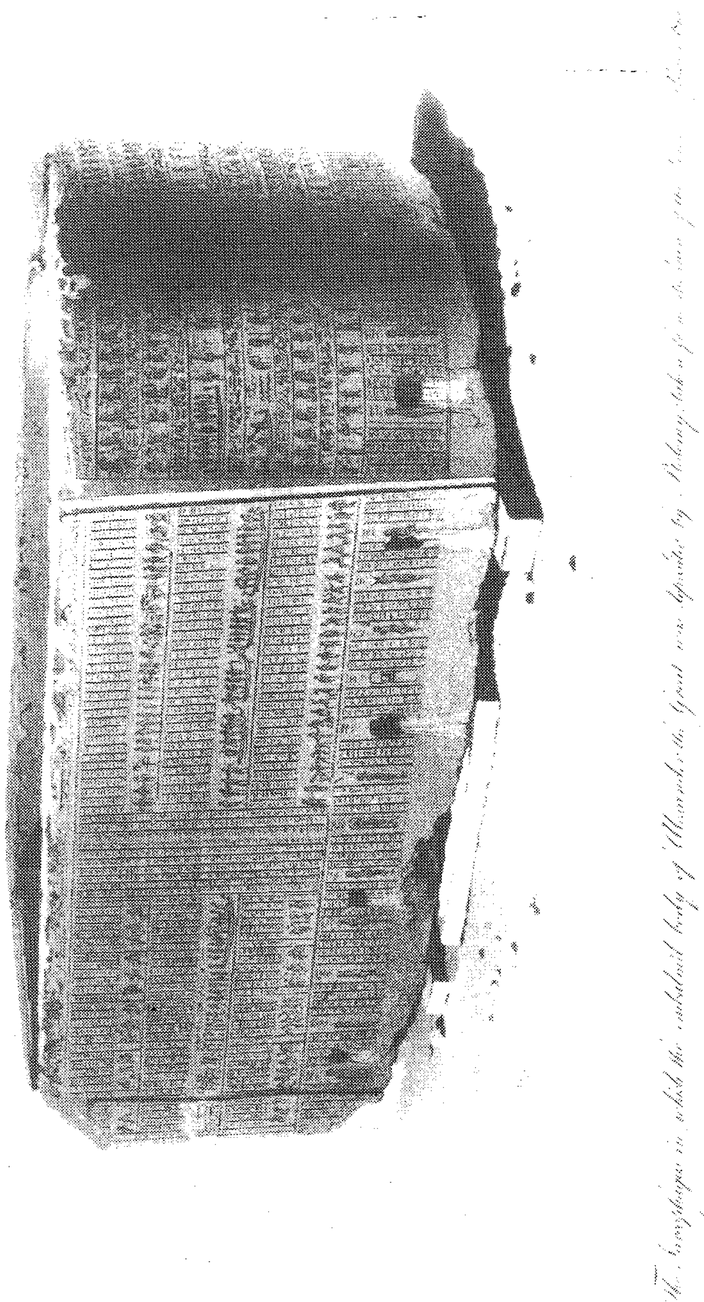
2. Plan of Ancient Alexandria by Kiepert based on Mahmoud Bey el Falaki.



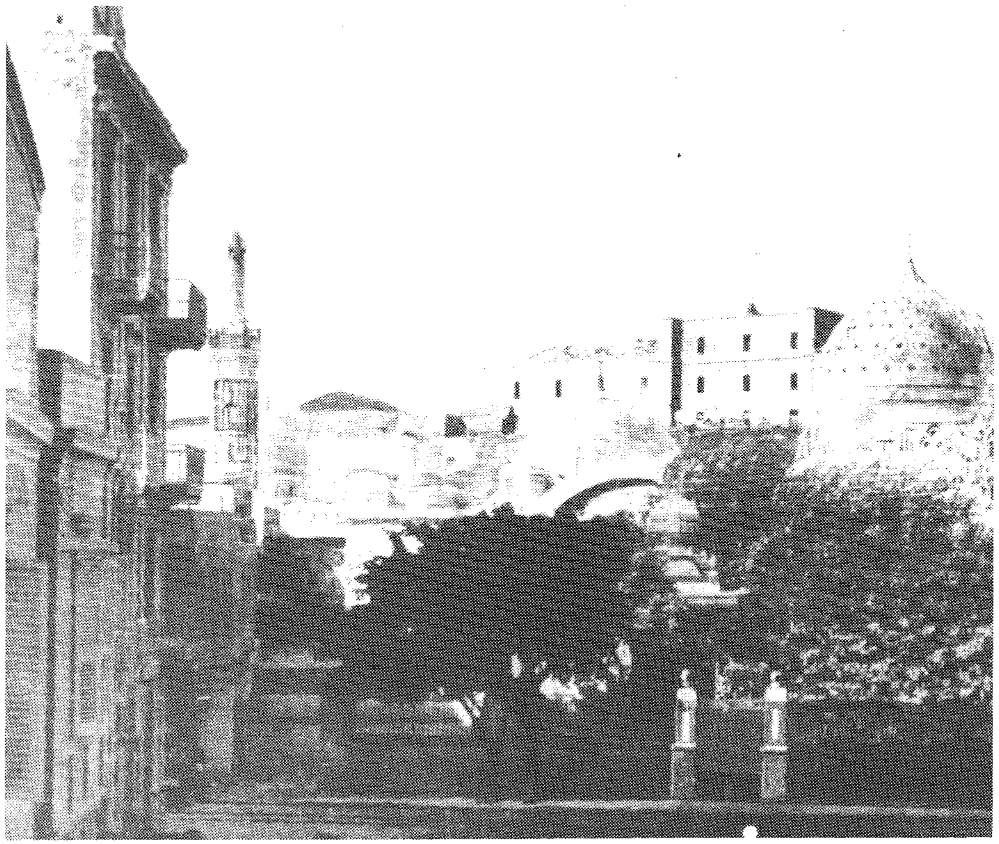
3. Plan of Ancient Alexandria by T. Neroutsos.



4. The inner courtyard of the Mosque of St. Athanasius (Mosquée Attarine) as drawn by D. Clarke. The small building in the centre with the cupola contained the sarcophagus attributed to Alexander.



5. The sarcophagus of Pharaoh Nectanebo as drawn by D. Clarke.



6. The Mosque of Nabi Danial. (Photograph of the beginning of the XXth c.).

Round Table
Naguib Mahfouz and Arabic Literature: Problems of Translation

Naguib Mahfouz has been already translated into almost all the European languages. Yet he was sometimes mistranslated and consequently misunderstood, due to the hurry required to introduce him to the Europeans who heard his name perhaps for the first time when he won the Nobel Prize 1988. Apart from that fact, however, the European attitude towards Arabic Literature as a whole raises many questions. These questions were the main subject of the Round Table.

The present writer opened the discussion by giving a very simple and short introduction to Mahfouz and his work (38 novels, 12 collections of short stories, 7 one-act-plays and a large number of press articles). The present writer also proposed to concentrate the discussions on the following main points:

— The place of Naguib Mahfouz in the frame of the whole map of Arabic Literature.

— The Local and the Universal in Mahfouz's works.

— Mahfouz's Sources.

— The reaction of the other: How foreigners received Mahfouz's works?

— The problems of translating Arabic literature into foreign languages.

Then Prof. Salma El-Khadra El Giousi presented a well prepared communication under the title: "Mahfouz: The Road to Nobel". She said:

"Whether it is ignorance, prejudice or the fact that so little of Arabic Literature had been made available until recently to readers outside the Arab World, or all these combined, the truth remains that this literature had for too long remained undeservedly at the recesses of the international literary field. The immensely rich literature of classical times was completely ignored except by a few world specialists whose interest,

at its best, was more academic than literary, more as a subject of study than as an object of cultural dissemination and aesthetic appeal. As for modern Arabic literature, not only outsiders, but the Arabs themselves had very little faith in its universality".

Salma El Giousi added: "However during the last two decades, the seventies and the eighties, two things had become clear: first that contemporary Arabic literature, both poetry and fiction, represents an immensely rich corpus of world literature; and secondly, that the situation where this literature continues to be ignored should no longer be tenable. ...In the Arab World, the feeling that it was time for an Arab writer to win the Nobel Prize in literature became dominant".

El Giousi continued to say that the Swedish Academy finally had been able to examine more thoroughly the Arab literary situation and to realize the unrivalled of the novel in Arabic and in bringing the genre up to a high level of sophistication. Mahfouz regards the novel as the poetry of the modern age which is dominated by science and technology.

In the meantime it is well known that Mahfouz was reading all the world masters. Some names only can be mentioned here as examples: The Greek philosophers: Plato (Socrates being included in his dialogues) and Aristotle, Flaubert, Stendhal, Shaw, Huxley, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhow, Mann, Kafka, Joyce, Proust etc. Certainly the Ancient Egyptian heritage as well as the Arabic civilization form together the essential background of Naguib Mahfouz's writings.

Magfouz's basic committment to the good of mankind and his constant standing on the side of man against all forms of oppression, whether political, social, sexist, or religious which besiege his life. He never played games with his principles, or shifted his ideas according to the winds of present day Arabic life and politics. A strictly private man, characterized by humility, by an unassuming manner and an instinctive dislike of self-aggrandisement, he maintained a constant touch with people of all social strata.

Whereas El-Giousi, a Palestinian by origin, spoke in English Prof. Olga Frolova, a Russian Orientalist, spoke in Classical Arabic and very fluently. She preferred to deal with her own experience translating Mahfouz into Russian. She said that Naguib Mahfouz, as known to her for the first time, was famous not only in Egypt but in all the Arab World. He was translated into Russian a long time ago. Moreover he was translated and well known in other Soviet States e.g. Uzbekistan, Latvia, Azerbaijan etc. Discussions, researches and disputations were developed in the Soviet Union at least thirty years ago. In different Soviet Universities many dissertations for the M.A. or Ph.D. degree were devoted to the works of Mahfouz.

Prof. Frolova thinks that the Pharaoh in "Rhodope" is not merely an ancient Egyptian King but is meant to symbolize the contemporary King of Egypt during the forties of this century, namely King Farouk. "Miramar" reflects Mahfouz's opinion concerning the 1952 Revolution lead by Nasser. In the same time "Respected Sir" (Hadrat el-Mohtaram) deals with the fate of Humankind as a whole.

The works of Mahfouz, Frolova added, reflected not only the European influences of Romanticism, Realism and Modernism but they also absorbed the oriental heritage of Ancient Egypt, Syria etc., as well as the Arab civilization at its golden epoch during the middle ages. The sources of Mahfouz, as indicated implicitly in his works, are too numerous, too enlarged and too variegated that it is impossible to be thoroughly considered here. Just to give one example Frolova noted that Dante during the 12th century A.D. was highly influenced by the Muslim thinkers El Souphi, and in particular, Ibn Arabi. The same influence can be noted in Mahfouz's works and consequently we can connect the great two writers Dante and Mahfouz in one way or another. This fact certifies that the Egyptian Nobel Prize Winner, is one of the most important figures, not only for the Arabs but for the whole world.

Prof. Mohammed Owis was particularly interested in the question of Time and Place in Mahfouz's works. He considered them as important elements in the construction of Mahfouz's novels and short stories. The Egyptian writer has assigned to certain places and locations a significant role in the events of his novels and short stories to the extent that they became basic "characters". More than thirteen of his novels are named after places and locations that have significant features in Cairo. He chose roads, streets, alleys, stores or houses that have the characteristics needed to the structure of every novel. Places and locations in Mahfouz's works, are not static frames but dynamic characters in the novel composition.

Makam El Sheikh (Saint Tomb) Al Qahwa (Coffee Shop) Al Bayt Al Kabier (The Big House of the Whole Family) became symbols of a whole system of values, traditions, beliefs and folklore.

Prof. Angelika Neuwirth clarified the reaction of the Germans concerning Mahfouz. She said that when the Germans heard the name of Mahfouz or even when they for the first time read the translation of his novels they were surprised and nobody said anything valuable about the Nobel Prize Winner of Egypt. Yet step by step the Germans began to taste the new-comer Arab Literature.

The main conclusion of the Round Table, then, is embodied in the fact that Arabic Literature is not yet well introduced to the Europeans. This

conclusion was assured by all the speakers from the floor of the Round Table. Furthermore the majority of the participants concluded that the Arab side bears the greater part of the responsibility. Arabs would take the initiative by encouraging the intention to translate Arabic Literature into different European languages. The Arab Cultural Organizations, governmental or non-governmental, are to take the proper measures to further the dissemination of Arab art and thought in the world literary field.

Prof. AHMED ETMAN

Από τη *Μυριόβιβλο* του Φωτίου στο *Κιτάπ αλ-Φίχριστ* του αλ-Ναδίμ. Θρησκευτική Ορθοδοξία και θύραθεν παιδεία στο Βυζάντιο και στο Ισλάμ

Τα τελευταία χρόνια έχει απασχολήσει συχνά τη βυζαντινολογική έρευνα το πολιτισμικό-πνευματικό φαινόμενο που είναι γνωστό ως "μακεδονική αναγέννηση". Πρόκειται περί της εντυπωσιακής άνθησης των γραμμάτων και κυρίως των "θύραθεν" γραμμάτων τον θ΄ και τον ι΄ αιώνα. Στη συζήτηση αυτή, όπου σημαντική ώθηση έδωσε το βιβλίο του Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (1971), το οποίο στο μεταξύ έχει μεταφρασθεί τόσο στα ελληνικά όσο και στα αγγλικά, ερευνήθηκε κυρίως η σχολική εκπαίδευση στο Βυζάντιο στη μέση βυζαντινή εποχή και ο ρόλος που έπαιξε η διανόηση και η καλλιέργεια των θύραθεν γραμμάτων στη διαμόρφωση του ιδιότυπου βυζαντινού πολιτισμού. Πρόκειται περί γνήσιας αναγέννησης, δηλαδή ουσιαστικής αφομοίωσης του κλασικού πολιτισμού, ή απλώς περί εξωτερικής ή επιδερμικής ενασχόλησης μαζί του; Από την άλλη μεριά, προϋποθέτει η αναγέννηση αυτή μια προηγούμενη εποχή παρακμής ή απονέκρωσης των κλασικών γραμμάτων κατά τη λεγόμενη περίοδο των "σκοτεινών χρόνων", ή θα πρέπει να κατανοήσουμε την άνθηση των γραμμάτων στα χρόνια της μακεδονικής δυναστείας περισσότερο σαν ένα κύμα έξαρσης των σπουδών μέσα σε ένα πλαίσιο διαρκούς και συνεχούς καλλιέργειας των γραμμάτων και των πνευματικών αγαθών της αρχαιότητας; Ένα άλλο, επίσης σημαντικό θέμα είναι· σε ποια σχέση βρίσκονταν τα θύραθεν γράμματα στην ενλόγω εποχή με την ανάπτυξη και καλλιέργεια των θεολογικών γραμμάτων. Είναι δηλαδή μια σχέση αντίθεσης και σύγκρουσης, ή μια σχέση σύνθεσης, αλληλοσυμπλήρωσης και ολοκλήρωσης; Με άλλα λόγια, κατανοείται ο πνευματικός πολιτισμός ως ενιαίος, ή θεωρείται ο προχριστιανικός πολιτι-

σμός ως περιττός, ανεπίκαιρος, ή έστω εξωτικός και γιαυτό αμελητέος;

Εξάλλου όμοια, ανάλογα ή παράλληλα θέματα υπάρχουν προς εξέταση όσον αφορά την εντυπωσιακή άνθηση των θύραθεν γραμμάτων στον κόσμο του Ισλάμ. Όπως είναι γνωστό, η Βαγδάτη, ή μάλλον η "πόλη της ειρήνης", Madīnat al-Salām, όπως ήταν το επίσημο όνομα της πρωτεύουσας του χαλιφάτου, συγκέντρωσε την ίδια ακριβώς εποχή και μάλιστα συχνά με πρωτοβουλία των εμπνευσμένων χαλιφών της στον περίφημο "Οίκο της Σοφίας", εκλεκτούς λογίους που επιμελήθηκαν τη συλλογή και μετάφραση στα αραβικά όλων των σημαντικότερων έργων της κλασικής ελληνικής αρχαιότητας και επιδόθηκαν με ζήλο στην έρευνα και τον κριτικό σχολιασμό τους. Έχουμε λοιπόν αναμφίβολα και στον αραβικό κόσμο στην περίοδο του χαλιφάτου της Βαγδάτης, με την προσπάθεια σύζευξης του ελληνικού πνεύματος με την προϊσλαμική παράδοση και το Ισλάμ, μια γνήσια αναγέννηση.

Όπως γράφει ο Francis Peters, "the renaissance that was Islam refers rather to the resurrection of a complex of cultural ideals that long antedated Islam and were fragmented and moribund, if not dead, in the Near East in the seventh century. Islam, for all its uniquely creative qualities, is also a splendidly rising chapter in the history of Hellenism, although the story of Islam is far more than the revival of Hellenism (*Allah's Commonwealth,* 1973, 12).

Αλλά πώς εξηγείται η άνθηση αυτή των θύραθεν γραμμάτων σε ένα πολιτιστικό περιβάλλον που κυρίως ενδιαφέρεται για την αυστηρή τήρηση του αρχέγονου θρησκευτικού προτύπου ευσέβειας και υποταγής, και σε ποιά σχέση βρίσκεται η σπουδή των θύραθεν γραμμάτων με τη μελέτη του κατεξοχήν βιβλίου, του Κορανίου; Αλλά και πέραν αυτού· Ποια είναι η σχέση της αναγένννησης αυτής με τις προσπάθειες του χαλίφη αλ-Μαμούν να γεφυρώσει το χάσμα Σιιτών και Σουνιτών;

Ένας τρόπος για να μελετήσουμε τα ερωτήματα τα σχετικά με τη "μακεδονική αναγέννηση", που ακόμη και σήμερα παραμένουν τόσο επίκαιρα όσο και άλυτα, παρά την προσπάθεια που έχουν καταβάλει πολλοί ερευνητές, όπως ο Cyril Mango, ο Paul Speck και ο Warren Treadgold, για να αναφέρω μόνο μερικούς, είναι να αναζητήσουμε λύσεις μέσα από το έργο του σημαντικότερου λογίου του θ΄ αιώνα, του Φωτίου. Ιδιαίτερα το έργο του Φωτίου *Μυριόβιβλος,* όπως το ονόμαζαν οι Βυζαντινοί, ή *βιβλιοπανσύλλεκτος ἀνθολογία,* ή τέλος *Βιβλιοθήκη,* όπως ονομάστηκε στα χρόνια αναγέννησης τον ις΄ αιώνα, προσφέρεται για να ερευνηθεί η θέση και η λειτουργία της θύραθεν γραμματείας στον κατεξοχήν θεολογικό στοχασμό του μεγάλου εκκλησιαστικού ηγέτη και κατ' επέκταση στην κοινωνία των βυζαντινών λογίων. Υπό τον απλό και σχεδόν παραπλανητικό τίτλο *Ἀπογραφὴ καὶ συναρίθμησις τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἡμῖν βιβλίων, ὧν εἰς κεφαλαιώδη διάγνωσιν ὁ ἠγαπημένος ἡμῖν ἀδελφὸς Ταράσιος ἠξητήσατο,* ο Φώτιος παρουσιάζει σε 1.000 περίπου σελίδες όλη την ελληνική γραμματολογία που ήταν προσιτή σ' αυτόν στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το πρώτο μισό του θ΄ αιώνα. Φυσικά, το έργο του δεν αποτελεί απλό κατάλογο, αλλά έναν υψηλού επιπέδου σχολιασμένο οδηγό, μια φιλολογική εγκυκλοπαίδεια με άπειρες, συχνά ουσιαστικές φιλολογικές και πραγματολογικές παρατηρήσεις για το περιεχόμενο των έργων που μελέτησε.

Τρία σημεία είναι χρήσιμο να εξαρθούν στα πλαίσια της σύντομης αυτής ανακοίνωσης· το *πρώτον* είναι ότι ο "κατάλογος" περιέχει αναφορές, μερικές φορές αναλυτικές αναφορές, σε έργα που έχουν στο μεταξύ απολεσθεί και που είναι πια σήμερα γνωστά μόνον από τις αναφορές του Φωτίου. Στην κατηγορία αυτή ανήκουν όχι λιγότερα από το 55 τοις εκατόν των έργων που μνημονεύονται στη Μυριόβιβλο! Το *δεύτερο* είναι ότι από τα έργα που μελέτησε ο Φώτιος το 57 τοις εκατόν ανήκουν στη θύραθεν γραμματεία και μόνον το 43 τοις εκατόν ανήκει στη χριστιανική θεολογική γραμματεία. Το *τρίτον* είναι ότι πολλά κλασικά έργα ο Φώτιος δεν τα μνημονεύει καθόλου, όχι γιατί τα αγνοεί, αλλά αντίθετα γιατί τα θεωρεί γνωστά σε όλους, αφού ανήκουν στο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα και διδάσκονται στην "εγκύκλιο παιδεία". Στην κατηγορία αυτή ανήκουν μερικά χριστιανικά έργα, όπως η Αγία Γραφή και ο επικήδειος λόγος του Γρηγορίου Ναζιανζηνού προς τον Βασίλειο Καισαρείας και αφετέρου μεγάλο μέρος της ποιητικής παραγωγής της κλασικής εποχής, όπως τα έργα του Ομήρου, του Ησιόδου, των τραγικών (Αισχύλου, Σοφοκλή και Ευριπίδη), του Αριστοφάνη, του Πινδάρου κ.ά., οι ιστορικοί Θουκυδίδης και Ξενοφών, από τους φιλοσόφους ο Πλάτων και ο Αριστοτέλης, όπως και μερικά ρητορικά και επιστημονικά έργα (π.χ. τα *Ρητορικά Προγυμνάσματα* του Αφθονίου, *Τα στοιχεία* του Ευκλείδη, η *Εισαγωγή στην Αριθμητική* του Νικομάχου Γεράσων, ή το *Περί Ιδεών* του Ερμογένους).

Από τα λίγα αυτά, κυρίως στατιστικά στοιχεία προβάλλει η φύση του έργου αλλά και ο πλούτος που άντλησε από τη θύραθεν γραμματεία, όση ήταν γνωστή και προσιτή τον θ΄ αιώνα στο Βυζάντιο. Ας προσθέσω δύο ακόμη στοιχεία, που συμπληρώνουν την εικόνα αυτή. *Πρώτον,* από τη θύραθεν γραμματεία, όση καταγράφεται στη Μυριόβιβλο, μόνον ένα μέρος ανήκει στην κλασική εποχή, ενώ το υπόλοιπο ανήκει στην ελληνιστική, στη μετακλασική και, ακόμη, στη μεταγενέστερη θύραθεν γραμματεία. Αυτό δείχνει ότι τα κριτήρια για την αξιολόγηση

των έργων δεν ήταν "κλασικιστικά", αλλά λειτουργικά και χρηστικά. Η προχριστιανική ελληνική γραμματεία κατανοείται και αποτιμάται ως ένα ενιαίο σύνολο. Αυτή τη χρηστικότητα και επομένως και την επικαιρότητα των αναλυομένων έργων έλαβε υπόψη του ο Φώτιος, όταν παρέθεσε έργα π.χ. ιατρικής, αλλά και μυθολογίας, ρητορικής, φιλοσοφίας και επιστήμης. Επομένως ο προσανατολισμός του συγγραφέα δεν είναι "διχοτομικός" – από τη μια τα βιβλία της αρχαιότητας με πιθανό ίσως αρχαιοδιφικό απλώς ενδιαφέρον, και από την άλλη τα βιβλία της σύγχρονης επικαιρότητας, δηλαδή τα χριστιανικά, – αλλά μια καταρχήν "ουμανιστική", θα έλεγα, κατάφαση στην αδιάκοπη συνέχεια και εξέλιξη της πνευματικής παραγωγής και του γραπτού λόγου. Επομένως στη σκέψη του Φωτίου κυριαρχεί η αντίληψη ότι η πνευματική κληρονομιά είναι ενιαία, ότι η αφομοίωσή της με πολυετή ενασχόληση με αυτήν αποτελεί υποχρέωση και δικαίωμα του πνευματικού ανθρώπου, ότι ο ίδιος αποτελεί φυσική συνέχεια μιας μακράς παράδοσης η οποία αρχίζει στους προχριστιανικούς χρόνους και βρίσκει την ολοκλήρωσή της στη χριστιανική κοσμοαντίληψη. Έτσι ο Φώτιος είναι ένας κατεξοχήν χριστιανός "ουμανιστής".

Έναν αιώνα μετά τη συγγραφή της Μυριοβίβλου ένα όμοιο έργο γράφτηκε στη Βαγδάτη, που αξίζει να ερευνηθεί στη συνάφεια αυτή συγκριτικά, γιατί θα φωτίσει το πνευματικό περιβάλλον στον κόσμο του Ισλάμ κατά την ερευνώμενη εποχή. Είναι το Kitāb al-Fihrist ("Βιβλίο Ευρετηρίου") του Abu al-Faraj Ibn al-Nadīm, που εκδόθηκε το 987-88 μ.Χ. Το βιβλίο αυτό είναι ένας αναλυτικός κατάλογος όλων των έργων της παγκόσμιας γραμματείας, που ήταν γνωστά και προσιτά στη Βαγδάτη στην εποχή του συγγραφέα. Το βιβλίο αυτό, που είναι εκδεδομένο σε πολλαπλές εκδόσεις – εγώ το μελέτησα στην έκδοση με αγγλική μετάφραση του Bayard Dodge, Columbia University Press, 1970 – διαιρείται σε δέκα μεγάλες ενότητες-βιβλία και σε 33 κεφάλαια. Τα πρώτα έξι βιβλία αναφέρονται στην πρωτότυπη αραβική και ισλαμική γραμματολογία, ενώ τα τελευταία τέσσερα παρουσιάζουν με λεπτομέρειες βιβλία γραμμένα από μη άραβες συγγραφείς και μη ισλαμικό περιεχόμενο σε αραβική μετάφραση. Φαίνεται μάλιστα ότι ο συγγραφέας επιμελήθηκε συγχρόνως δύο εκδόσεις του έργου του, που παραδίδονται ως σήμερα σε δύο οικογένειες χειρογράφων· Μια πλήρη σε δέκα βιβλία, και μια σύντομη, στην οποία περιέχονται μόνο τα τέσσερα τελευταία βιβλία.

Ο αλ-Ναδίμ ενδιαφέρθηκε για όλον τον κύκλο της ισλαμικής και της μη-ισλαμικής γραμματείας. Έτσι, ό,τι γνωρίζουμε π.χ. για τις πρώιμες μουσουλμανικές αιρέσεις ή για τους Μανιχαίους και άλλες μη-ισλαμικές ομάδες μέσα στο χαλιφάτο, το οφείλουμε στο Φίχριστ. Από την ίδια πηγή γνωρίζουμε τέλος την πορεία της ελληνικής φιλοσοφικής και επιστημονικής διανόησης στο Ισλάμ. Μέσα από τις πολλές και πυκνογραμμένες σελίδες του αρυόμεθα τις λεπτομέρειες για να δημιουργήσουμε το ψηφιδωτό της τεράστιας και πολύχρωμης μεταφραστικής δραστηριότητας στα αραβικά από τα ελληνικά, τα συριακά και τα περσικά (παχλεβί) κατά τους τρεις πρώτους αιώνες της ισλαμικής γραμματείας.

Στα έργα που καταγράφει ο αλ-Ναδίμ περιλαμβάνονται η Παλαιά και η Καινή Διαθήκη, οι εκκλησιαστικοί κανόνες των συνόδων και έργα χριστιανικής θεολογίας, κυρίως της "Ανατολικής-Συριακής", δηλαδή της Νεστοριανής, αλλά και της "Δυτικής-Συριακής", δηλαδή της Μονοφυσιτικής εκκλησίας. Φυσικά στον κατάλογο αυτόν αναλύεται το ιερό βιβλίο του Ισλάμ, δηλαδή το Κοράνιο και μάλιστα παρουσιάζεται κατά τον ιδιότυπο "ιστορικο-φιλολογικό" τρόπο που ερμήνευαν τη συγγραφή του Κορανίου οι "Μουταζιλίτες", στους οποίους, όπως φαίνεται από τα συμφραζόμενα, ανήκε και ο αλ-Ναδίμ. Επίσης αναφέρονται δια μακρών τα ερμηνευτικά υπομνήματα στο Κοράνιο, τα θεολογικά και θεολογικο-νομικά έργα και ρεύματα, όπως των Μουταζιλιτών, των Ιμαμιατών, των Ζαϋδιατών και των Σουφιτών ασκητών.

Ίσως κλειδί για την κατανόηση των ενδιαφερόντων του Αλ-Ναδίμ είναι η διαπίστωση ότι ανήκε στους Μουταζιλίτες. Γιατί είναι γνωστό ότι οι Μουταζιλίτες, που βρέθηκαν τελικά αποκομμένοι από το σώμα των ορθόδοξων σιιτών ως αιρετικοί και κατά συνέπειαν μας είναι γνωστή η σκέψη τους κυρίως από όσα έγραψαν γι' αυτούς οι κατά καιρούς "αιρεσιογράφοι" του Ισλάμ, είχαν επιδράσει σημαντικά στη διαμόρφωση της φιλοσοφικής υποδομής της ισλαμικής θεολογίας, στηριζόμενοι κυρίως πάνω στην παράδοση της ελληνικής λογικής και έχοντας ως αφετηρία την πεποίθηση ότι ο ανθρώπινος λόγος είναι το κατάλληλο όργανο για την κατάκτηση της αλήθειας και ότι η αλήθεια μπορεί να διατυπωθεί κατά τον καλύτερο τρόπο με τα γλωσσικά εργαλεία της διανόησης.

Για το θέμα μας σημασία έχουν ωστόσο τα τελευταία τέσσερα βιβλία του "Καταλόγου", που απαρτίζουν τα τρία όγδοα του κειμένου και τα οποία είναι αφιερωμένα στη θύραθεν γραμματεία, τη φιλοσοφία, τα μαθηματικά και την αστρονομία, την ιατρική, τη μυθολογία, τη γεωγραφία και την αλχημεία. Στα βιβλία αυτά κυρίαρχη θέση κατέχουν οι αρχαίοι έλληνες συγγραφείς. Εάν μέτρησα σωστά, ο αλ-Ναδίμ αναφέρει και αναλύει τα έργα 173 ελλήνων συγγραφέων, από τον Όμηρο ως τον Φώτιο, τον οποίο συνδέει, μάλλον άστοχα – αλλά ποιος μπορεί να

ξέρει; – με τη μετάφραση ελληνικών έργων στα αραβικά. Με ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον και φιλολογική ακρίβεια ο αλ-Ναδίμ καταγράφει τα έργα των φιλοσόφων, όπως του Πλάτωνα και του Αριστοτέλη. Έτσι αναφέρει επανειλημμένες μεταφράσεις και εκδόσεις 19 έργων του Πλάτωνα, ενώ για τον Αριστοτέλη εκτός από την εκτενή αναφορά σε όλα τα έργα του, που σώζονταν στα χρόνια του σε πολλές αραβικές αλλά και συριακές μεταφράσεις, παραθέτει και το κείμενο της διαθήκης του, όπως φυσικά και καταλόγους των έργων των μαθητών του, αλλά και μεταγενέστερων φιλοσόφων και σχολιαστών των έργων του, όπως του Πορφυρίου, του Θεμιστίου, αλλά και του Πρόκλου και του Σιμπλικίου.

Εξίσου εκτενής είναι και η αναφορά στα συγγράμματα ιατρικής και θετικών επιστημών. Είναι εντυπωσιακή η γραμματολογική παρουσίαση των έργων αυτών σε πολλαπλά επίπεδα· (α) το επίπεδο του ίδιου του έργου, (β) της επεξεργασίας του από μαθητές του συγγραφέα και μεταγενέστερους σχολιαστές, (γ) των διαφόρων μεταφράσεων απευθείας στα αραβικά, ή μέσω της συριακής και (δ) της νεώτερης επεξεργασίας και του σχολιασμού του έργου από διάφορους άραβες συγγραφείς.

Ο αλ-Ναδίμ χαρακτηρίζει τον εαυτό του αλ-βαρράκ, δηλαδή βιβλιοπώλη. Πράγματι τόσο ο αλ-Ναδίμ, όσο πριν από αυτόν και ο πατέρας του, διατηρούσαν βιβλιοπωλείο στη Βαγδάτη, στο οποίο, προφανώς, όχι μόνον διέθεταν έτοιμα βιβλία, αλλά είχαν και εργαστήριο αντιγραφής κωδίκων. Έτσι εξηγούνται και οι πολλαπλές αναφορές του συγγραφέα σε θέματα κατασκευής, συντήρησης, συλλογής και επισκευής του βιβλίου. Είναι εντυπωσιακή η προσωπική επαφή και η βαθειά γνώση που έχει ο αλ-Ναδίμ για τα βιβλία που περιγράφει. Ωστόσο, το βιβλίο δεν τον ενδιαφέρει μόνον ως εμπορεύσιμο αντικείμενο, αλλά δείχνει, από τη μια, μεγάλη αγάπη προς αυτό και από την άλλη, γνώση του περιεχομένου του. Όπως άλλωστε φαίνεται μέσα από το έργο του, ήταν πολύ καλλιεργημένος, είχε σπουδάσει κοντά σε γνωστούς δασκάλους, σύχναζε σε κύκλους διακεκριμένων λογίων, ανάμεσα στους οποίους ανήκαν και χριστιανοί, αλλά και διανοούμενοι που ζούσαν στη "βυζαντινή περιοχή" της Βαγδάτης.

Μπορούμε λοιπόν να πούμε ότι το Kitab al Fihrist αποτελεί ουσιαστικά την "αραβική εγκυκλοπαίδεια των γραμμάτων των επιστημών και του βιβλίου, από την καλλιγραφία ως την αλχημεία". Είναι επίσης χαρακτηριστικό ότι όλες οι αναφορές σε ιστορικά γεγονότα της αρχαιότητας ή του μεσαίωνα, όπως η εκστρατεία του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου, ή οι βυζαντινοπερσικοί και οι βυζαντινο-αραβικοί πόλεμοι ως τον θ΄ αιώνα γίνονται πάντοτε σε σχέση με την τύχη των βιβλίων και των συγγραφέων τους και για να ερμηνευθούν καλύτερα θέματα σχετικά με βιβλιοθήκες και με τη βιβλιοπαραγωγή. Είναι χαρακτηριστικά τρία παραδείγματα.

Α. Αναφερόμενος στον Μεγαλέξανδρο αναφέρει πως "ήταν βασιλιάς των Ελλήνων και φεύγοντας από μια πόλη που οι Έλληνες ονομάζουν Μακεδονία, εισέβαλε στην Περσία. Όταν ο Δαρείος Γ΄ αρνήθηκε να πληρώσει φόρο υποτέλειας, τον σκότωσε και κατέλαβε το βασίλειό του. Κατέστρεψε ό,τι επιστημονικό υπήρχε στα διάφορα κτίρια, είτε γραμμένο σε πέτρα είτε σε ξύλο. Εξάλλου, κατά τις αναπόφευκτες πυρκαγιές καταστράφηκαν πολλά βιβλία. Ωστόσο, τα βιβλία που ήταν συγκεντρωμένα σε συλλογές και βιβλιοθήκες στην Περσέπολη, αρχικά τα προστάτευσε, τα μετέγραψε και τα μετάφρασε στα ελληνικά και τα κοπτικά και τότε κατέστρεψε το περσικό πρωτότυπο". Φαίνεται ότι αυτή ήταν μια θεωρία, που, φυσικά, χαλκεύθηκε αργότερα, για να εξηγηθεί το παράξενο φαινόμενο ότι ελάχιστα βιβλία της περσικής εποχής των Αχαιμενιδών διασώθηκαν ως τα χρόνια των Σασανιδών.

Β. Ιδιαίτερα τους σασανίδες βασιλείς τους μνημονεύει ο αλ-Ναδίμ με επαινετικά λόγια για την αγάπη τους για τα βιβλία. Π.χ. για τον Χοσρόη Α΄, τον σύγχρονο του Ιουστινιανού λέγει τα εξής· "Ο Χοσρόης από ενδιαφέρον για τη γνώση αλλά και από αγάπη συνέλεγε, εξέδιδε και επεξεργαζόταν τα βιβλία της αρχαιότητας, όπως τα κείμενα του Ερμή Τρισμεγίστου, τα έργα του αστρονόμου Δωροθέου από τη Σιδώνα, του Φαίδρου του Αθηναίου, του Πτολεμαίου κλπ. Οι πληροφορίες αυτές για τον Χοσρόη Α΄ εξηγούν την κατά τα άλλα απροσδόκητη πληροφορία βυζαντινών πηγών, ότι όταν ο Ιουστιανιανός το 529 απαγόρευσε τη διδασκαλία της εθνικής θρησκείας και τις θεουργικές τελετουργίες στη φιλοσοφική σχολή των Αθηνών, οι επώνυμοι καθηγητές μετανάστευσαν στην αυλή του Χοσρόη. Έτσι, συμπληρώνει με φιλοσοφική ωριμότητα ο αλ-Ναδίμ, "για τους ανθρώπους όλων των εποχών και όλων των ηλικιών υπάρχει πάντα μια νέα εμπειρία και μια ανανέωση της επιστημονικής έρευνας, όπως έχει προσδιορισθεί από τα ζωδιακά άστρα που καθορίζουν τον χρόνο όπως προστάζει ο Θεός από το ύψος της μεγαλειότητάς του".

Γ. Τέλος είναι ενδιαφέρουσα η ιστορία που διηγείται ο αλ-Ναδίμ για να εξηγήσει την εισαγωγή πολλών βιβλίων της ελληνικής φιλοσοφίας και των επιστημών στον ισλαμικό κόσμο". Ένας από τους λόγους, γράφει ο αλ-Ναδίμ, είναι ότι ο χαλίφης αλ-Μαμούν είδε στον ύπνο του την εικόνα ενός λευκού ανδρός με κόκκινη απόχρωση, ευρύ μέτωπο και συμπλεκόμενα φρύδια. Ήταν φαλακρός, με κοκκινωπά μάτια και ευγενικά χαρακτηριστικά, και καθόταν στην άκρη του κρεββατιού του.

Ο Αλ-Μαμούν έλεγε ότι "αισθάνθηκα έντρομος καθώς βρέθηκα μπροστά του και είπα· 'Ποιος είσαι;' Εκείνος απάντησε, 'είμαι ο Αριστοτέλης'. Τότε χάρηκα πολύ και τον ρώτησα· 'Σοφέ, μπορώ να σου υποβάλω μια ερώτηση;' και εκείνος απάντησε, 'ρώτησέ με'. Τότε ρώτησα, 'τι είναι το καλόν'; Εκείνος απάντησε· 'ό,τι είναι καλό στη διανόηση', δηλαδή ο λόγος. Τότε ξαναείπα· 'Τι είναι καλό μετά από αυτό;' Εκείνος απάντησε· 'ό,τι είναι καλό στο δίκαιο'. Τότε τον ρώτησα· 'τι είναι καλό πέραν αυτού;' κι εκείνος απάντησε· 'ό,τι είναι καλό για το δημόσιο συμφέρον' Τότε είπα· 'Τι είναι καλό πέραν αυτού;' Εκείνος είπε· 'πέραν αυτού; Δεν υπάρχει τίποτε'. Το όνειρο αυτό ήταν, συνεχίζει ο αλ-Ναδίμ, η αποφασιστική αιτία για να γεμίσει η χώρα αυτή με βιβλία. Στην αλληλογραφία του με τον βυζαντινό αυτοκράτορα Λέοντα Ε΄ ο αλ-Μαμούν ζήτησε την άδεια, όπως διηγείται ο αλ-Ναδίμ, να αποκτήσει μια συλλογή από επιστημονικά συγγράμματα που ήταν αποθησαυρισμένα στο βυζαντινό κράτος. Μετά τους αρχικούς δισταγμούς του ο αυτοκράτορας συμφώνησε, οπότε ο χαλίφης έστειλε επώνυμους λογίους να συγκεντρώσουν και να μεταφέρουν τα βιβλία στη Βαγδάτη. Στο σημείο αυτό ο αλ-Ναδίμ περιγράφει με λεπτομέρεια τα ταξίδα των αράβων λογίων, τις βιβλιοθήκες που επισκέφθηκαν και τα βιβλία που έφεραν μαζί τους. Όπως είναι γνωστό, ο αλ-Μαμούν προσεταιρίσθηκε τους Μουταζιλίτες που πίστευαν στην ανάγκη να συμπληρωθεί η αραβική φιλοσοφική δημιουργία και παράδοση με την υιοθέτηση της ελληνικής φιλοσοφίας για την καλύτερη θεολογική εμπέδωση της μοναδικότητας του Θεού, σκιά του οποίου επί γης ήταν ο Ιμάμης.

Όπως είδαμε στη δεύτερη ιστορία, για τον Χοσρόη, η παράγραφος καταλήγει με μια δοξαστική αναφορά στον Αλλάχ. Ολόκληρο το βιβλίο του αλ-Ναδίμ είναι κατάσπαρτο με τέτοιες αναφορές, ενώ όλες οι παράγραφοι του βιβλίου αρχίζουν με την παραδοσιακή επίκληση "Στο όνομα του φιλεύσπλαχνου Αλλάχ". Επομένως το βιβλίο του εντάσσεται στην παραδοσιακή ισλαμική φιλολογική παραγωγή του δέκατου αιώνα. Παρά τις προφανείς διασυνδέσεις του με κύκλους διανοουμένων, που έτειναν – όπως συμβαίνει πάντοτε σε τέτοιες περιπτώσεις – προς το περιθώριο της ορθόδοξης θρησκευτικής σκέψης και ζωής, ο συγγραφέας του Kitab al-Fihrist ήταν ένας πιστός μουσουλμάνος λόγιος που προσέφερε τεράστιο έργο στην ισλαμική θεολογική γραμματολογική έρευνα. Παρά ταύτα είχε βρει τον τρόπο, όπως άλλωστε έκαναν πολλοί άλλοι σύγχρονοί του στο Ισλάμ, αλλά και πολλοί Βυζαντινοί λόγιοι, όπως ο Φώτιος, ο Αρέθας ή, αργότερα και κατεξοχήν ο Μιχαήλ Ψελλός, να συνδυάζουν τον θρησκευτικό στοχασμό με γνήσια αναζήτηση αλλά και πνευματική απόλαυση στην ενασχόληση με τη θύραθεν

παιδεία. Έτσι με την ενασχόληση και την αφομοίωση των "ελληνικών γραμμάτων και επιστημών" ο μουσουλμάνος της Βαγδάτης του δέκατου αιώνα αισθανόταν ως νόμιμος κληρονόμος και θεματοφύλακας της πνευματικής παράδοσης που ξενικούσε από το μυθικό παρελθόν, περνούσε μέσα από την περσική και την ελληνική κλασική αρχαιότητα και κατέληγε στον ίδιο.

Αναμφίβολα η Κωνσταντινούπολη όσο και η Βαγδάτη τον θ΄ και ι΄ αιώνα ζούσαν μια περίοδο γνήσιας αναγέννησης των γραμμάτων, φυσικά μέσα σε ένα παραδοσιακό περιβάλλον θρησκευτικής εγκυρότητας και γνησιότητας.

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΣ
Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων

ΕΝΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

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BOOK REVIEWS

Lionel Casson: The* Periplus Maris Erythraei. *Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary (Bollingen Series). Pp. xvii+320; 18 maps. Princeton University Press. ISBN 0-691-04060-5. $57.50.

To the Greeks of Herodotus' day Arabia was the southernmost point of the inhabited world and the sole country offering frankincense, myrrh, casia, and other aromatics. But with the exception of myrrh, all these could be had only at considerable risk; "for the spice-bearing trees were guarded by small winged snakes of varied colour, many round each tree" *(Hdt.* 3.107).

Bits of factual information blended with fanciful tales was by and large what Greeks of the classical period could report about such remote places. By ca. 200 B.C., however, new insights had been gained, largely thanks to those adventurous shippers and traders who endeavoured to explore their way down the Red Sea thus coming to establish direct contact with the ports on the southern shore of the Gulf of Aden. Then, after having learnt to exploit the monsoons, they crossed the ocean all the way to India. In Strabo's day 120 bottoms of Roman Egypt made the round trip, presumably annually, from the Red Sea port of Myos Hormos to Arabia and India, supplying the Mediterranean world with the high-priced products of these regions; previously, less than 20 vessels did so *(Strab.* 2.5.12; 17.1.13). It was only natural then that the growing trade in the Indian Ocean should create a demand for accurate information about its ports, their imports and exports. "Circumnavigation of the Red Sea", better known today by its Latin *(Periplus Maris Erythraei)* than Greek title *(Periplous tês Erythras Thalassês),* is a handbook of 66 chapters guiding traders and shippers of Roman Egypt to the routes, ports, and goods they could sell and purchase in eastern Africa, southern Arabia and India.

C. has most skilfully accomplished the laudable task of guiding us through the enchanting world and daunting text of the *Periplus,* a work which, besides being written in the Greek *koinê,* bristles with technical terms, names of items of trade, obscure place names (often hopelessly hellenized), and errors made in manuscript transmission. Only one manuscript from early tenth century A.D. survives (the Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, fols. 40v-54v, Universitäts Bibliothek, Heidelberg; a fourteenth-fifteenth century copy of it exists at the British Museum). C. reproduces Hjalmar Frisk's Greek text and apparatus criticus (of 1927), but with improvements and few changes; he also offers an excellent English translation running parallel to the text. However, if one wants to find out why at 49:16.29 (pp. 80-1) *smyrna* (elsewhere "myrrh", cf. 10:4.13, pp. 56-7) is given the rendering "agate (?)" (usually *mourrinê),* one has to consult Commentary B (p. 263) and the General Commentary (p. 206).

Text and translation are accompanied by two commentaries of admirable scholarship (replacing now those of W.H. Schoff [1912] and G.W.B. Huntingford [1980]): a general one aiming at a broad readership, and a shorter (textual, lexicographical, grammatical) commentary intended for readers of Greek. Five appendices deal in detail with a number of special problems: terminological definition of various harbours and ports; distances; the two main routes; terminology for cloths and clothing, and identification of some ports in India's west coast. In an introduction comprising fourteen short but very lucid sections, C. begins with discussion of the author and his work – confidently dated to a year between A.D. 40 and 70 (p. 7). Then he concisely treats several aspects of trade in the Indian Ocean: above all, the routes, organization as well as structure of seaborne commerce, and the political geography of the whole region. The book is supplied with an extensive list of abbreviations (but not with a bibliography), a general index, and an index of citations.

Unlike our Red Sea, that of the *Periplus* encompassed the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and western Indian Ocean. Also unlike other ancient *Periploi*, which were mainly guides for seamen, this one was primarily a guide for merchants, rich in detail about imports, exports, sailing conditions, as well as about local rulers, peoples, customs, animals and fauna. C.'s superb handling of the text – frequently combined with other information stemming from a wide-ranging material: e.g. Pliny, Strabo, Dioscorides, Agatharchides, Ptolemy, papyri, descriptions by more recent travelers, and archaeological reports – leads to an insightful analysis of the two main routes, the African and the Arabian-Indian (each of some 3,000 nautical miles).

Starting from Myos Hormos and Berenice both routes ran along the ports of the Red Sea and, passing through the straits of Bab el Mandeb, came to the incense-yielding lands on either side of the Gulf of Aden. Thence they parted. The African route turned at Cape Guardafui to follow the east coast of Africa as far south as Rhapta (near mod. Dar es Salam). The route to India proceeded along the litoral of south Arabia and from there, using the southwest monsoon, continued over open water either to the mouth of the Indus River, or to the Gulf of Cambay, or to Muziris on the Indian southwest coast. The final leg went up the Indian east coast all the way to the Ganges River.

The trade carried along these routes, C. argues, was predominantly one in luxuries. Roman Egyptians took out mainly staples, clothing, household items, tools, and metals. At their return home they brought expensive textiles, slaves, precious stones and gems, ivory, tortoise shell, drugs and not least such varieties of aromatics and spices as were much-favoured by those Mediterranean nostrils and palates which could afford the price. For instance, on the Roman market myrrh could fetch 11-16$^{1/2}$ denarii a pound, while nard went for 45-75 denarii a pound! However, 'luxuries' can be a slippery word; it may be doubted, for example, whether myrrh, extensively used also in embalming, could go as a luxury in what D.J. Thompson calls the Egyptian "death industry" (*Memphis under the Ptolemies* [Princeton, 1988]). Furthermore, slaves, shipped from and to Egypt, and featuring among the imports and exports of other ports, is a topic meriting more attention than it has received in C.'s book.

Surely, as C. argues convincingly, there existed structural differences between the two main routes. That to Africa, even though it took two years for the round trip, was relatively easy, safe, and less capital demanding so as to be handled by small-scale operators. By contrast, the Indian route (one year for the round trip) was dangerous, and required larger vessels to carry goods that by Mediterranean values were very costly; hence it demanded a greater amount of capital, which only large-scale operators were able to supply. But was the difference in capital outlays (and hence in the economic standing of traders) as great as C. seems to believe? Since a good deal of Africa's, Arabia's and India's (with the exception of Muziris/Nelkynda) exports involved barter, the real cost at which goods on the Indian route were obtained depended, to a considerable extent, on the aggregate value of goods which the Roman Egyptians gave in exchange; it is just possible that quite many luxury items were bartered at values much lower than their Mediterranean prices would indicate.

Other points in C.'s book will perhaps stimulate debate among specialists. Not all may agree with his identification of some of the sites mentioned by the *Periplus*, but divergent views, if any, would now have to meet C.'s rigorous arguments. Those less familiar with the geographical area covered by the work would find little guidance in the text by means of systematic references to the nicely produced maps (none with a clear demarcation of the two main routes in their entirety). Moreover, although the anonymous author wrote from personal experience, some of the information he provides (including some distances – accurate as well as inaccurate) could only have derived from informants and, plausibly, from other materials. Historians would have appreciated an inquiry into his sources.

Equally desirable would have been a clear statement about how representative is the picture he paints about trade in the Indian ocean. If, as seems likely, the *Periplus* was mainly written for those interested in luxuries, can we infer from it (p. 18, cf. 21) that the merchants of Roman Egypt in general had no part, or very little part, in the small-scale, local trade in commodities? Further, what was the impact, if any, of this handbook on the development of trade in the regions concerned? Indeed, it is suggested (p. 96) that Leukos Limen (mod. Qusayr) must have flourished after the *Periplus* was written; yet the argument is not pursued further. C.'s explanation of the meaning of *emporion nomimon*, i.e. one whose ruler insisted that all trade pass through his hands (App. 1), may be right; but it is not proven by the fact that the three *emporia* called *nomima* were ideally located away from other ports. Finally, an index of Greek words, especially the objects of trade, would have been most useful.

But all these are minor points. On the whole, with this erudite and elegant work C. has fully accomplished the task of guiding specialists and non-specialists alike into the marvelous world of the *Periplus*. His book will no doubt remain an indispensable tool and source of inspiration for all subsequent research in this important field.

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J.F. Haldon,* Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture *(Cambridge University Press 1990) ISBN 0-521-26492-8, 486 pages, 7 maps, 32 photographic illustrations; price £45.

Dr. Haldon has produced an extremely valuable book on perhaps the most important century in the history of the Byzantine Empire. The seventh century AD could, in fact, be regarded as the most crucial period in Mediterranean history since the rise of the Roman Empire. Full of information and densely packed with carefully considered explanations, Haldon's work does, however, assume a fair degree of background knowledge on the part of its reader. It is not for the beginner in Byzantine studies and although very well written it cannot be described as an "easy read".

Basically this is a socio-cultural history rather than a survey of political events or developments. The evolution of early medieval Byzantine state and society are considered in great detail and from various viewpoints. Government and the economy take pride of place while the church and religion are placed within the Byzantine social context. The same applies to Byzantine art and culture which are again viewed as facets of a much wider, deeper and changing civilization.

While the bibliography of *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* is absolutely excellent and very up-to-date with both primary and secondary sources, the index remains somewhat rudimentary. Footnotes are placed at the bottom of each relevant page and while not particularly extensive are adequate. Virtually no criticism can be levelled at the seven superb maps which manage to be both highly detailed and full of new, or at least hard to obtain, information. They are also very clear and easy to understand. Of particular value are those dealing with such cartographically difficult subjects as "regions of disputed control", areas subjected to raiding and the abandonment of cities. The fact that maritime affairs receive short shrift may, perhaps, reflect Dr. Haldon's long and deep interest in land-based military matters. Unfortunately the photographic illustrations do not come up to the same standards as the maps. In fact one gets the impression that they were only included because the publisher wanted some pictures. The overwhelming majority show coinage, which at least reflects the central role of economic development in this book, and there are a few examples of surviving art. This, one has to admit, is in short supply from the Byzantine seventh century. There are no illustrations of architecture, nor or minor arts or crafts, nor any indication of Byzantine artistic influence on neighbouring cultures nor visa-versa. The photographs themselves are poorly reproduced in typically modern "shades of grey" with far too little tonal contrast.

Basically J.F. Haldon's *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* is an essential book for anyone seriously interested in the subject and is well worth buying, despite its rather expensive price. It is scholarly, convincing and modern in the approach taken to a difficult but important subject.

DAVID NICOLLE

Philip Mayerson, "The Word Saracen (Cαρακηνός) in the Papyri",* Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik *79, 1989, pp. 283-287.

Το άρθρο του καθηγητού Philip Mayerson παρακολουθεί τη σημασιολογική εξέλιξη της λέξης "Σαρακηνός" από τον 4ο μ.Χ. αιώνα και εξής στα παπυρολογικά ευρήματα.

Τα παραδείγματα δίνονται με χρονολογική σειρά, σε δύο μέρη, με ορόσημο την ισλαμική κατάκτηση της Αιγύπτου. Ο συγγραφέας υπογραμμίζει τη σχετική έλλειψη αναφορών (που συνεπάγεται σχετικότητα των στοιχείων) λόγω κυρίως του νομικού χαρακτήρα των παπύρων και αναφέρεται ιδιαίτερα στον πάπυρο Nessana 89 και στην περίπτωση των Σαρακηνών που παρείχαν, έναντι αντιτίμου, "προστασία" στα καραβάνια από και προς το όρος Σινά. Επισημαίνει τον προ της κατάκτησης σημασιολογικό δυισμό της λέξης, που χρησιμοποιείται τόσο ως δηλωτικό μιας κατηγορίας ανθρώπων δηλαδή των Αράβων νομάδων, όσο και τη χρήση της σε μία προσβλητική απόχρωση.

Το άρθρο επικεντρώνεται ωστόσο στη μετά την ισλαμική κατάκτηση της Αιγύπτου εποχή και στη συνακόλουθη διαφοροποίηση: Η λέξη "Σαρακηνός" παύει να εμφανίζεται ως μειωτικό επίθετο στους μετά την κατάκτηση παπύρους. Αντίθετα, χρησιμοποιείται ως διαφοροποιητικό-χαρακτηριστικό επίθετο γένους όταν το όνομα του αναφερόμενου προσώπου είναι άγνωστο, ή δεν θεωρείται απαραίτητο, ενώ πολλαπλασιάζονται τα παραδείγματα χρήσης της για τους κατακτητές σε σχέσεις καθημερινής ζωής.

Μία ανάλογη παρατήρηση για τη διαφοροποίηση της λέξης "Σαρακηνός" μετά την κατάκτηση της Αιγύπτου γίνεται και από τον καθηγητή Β. Χρηστίδη στο άρθρο του "Continuation and Changes in Umayyad Egypt as reflected in the terms and titles of the Greek Papyri", *Graeco-Arabica* IV, 1991, σ. 53-62, από άλλη όμως οπτική γωνία· αυτή της διοίκησης, όπου η λέξη "Σαρακηνός" χρησιμοποιείται για τους αξιωματούχους κατακτητές (βλ. "Σαρακηνός ο επικείμενος των φυγάδων", αυτόθι, σ. 54). Σκοπός της εργασίας αυτής του Β. Χρηστίδη είναι όχι μόνο η εξέταση της σημασιολογικής εξέλιξης της λέξης "Σαρακηνός" αλλά και η μελέτη των διοικητικών μεταρυθμίσεων μετά την αραβική κατάκτηση της Αιγύπτου, οι οποίες συχνά εκφράζονται με παλαιούς όρους που αποκτούν όμως καινούργιο νόημα.

Παράλληλα στο άρθρο του Ph. Mayerson η σημασιολογική εξέλιξη της λέξης "Σαρακηνός" ως επιθέτου δηλωτικού γένους, περνά, χάνοντας την προσβλητική της σημασία, από τον προϊσλαμικό Άραβα νομάδα στον μετά την ισλαμική κατάκτηση της Αιγύπτου μόνιμα εγκατεστημένο Άραβα άποικο. Πρόκειται για μία χαρακτηριστική περίπτωση όπου η σημασιολογική εξέλιξη αντικατοπτρίζει την πραγματικότητα της κοινωνικής εξέλιξης.

Ο Ph. Mayerson την παρουσιάζει με ενάργεια και σαφήνεια χάρις σε μια σοφή επιλογή παραδειγμάτων.

ΝΙΚΗ ΚΟΥΤΡΑΚΟΥ

***Hans-Joachim Kühn, "Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata"* (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Ergänzungsband *2), Fassbaender - Wien 1991*[1].**

Το βιβλίο του Hans-Joachin Kühn αποτελεί το δεύτερο τόμο της σειράς των συμπληρωματικών μελετών, οι οποίες εκδίδονται παράλληλα με τον κορμό της ίδιας σειράς, που παρουσιάζει σε γερμανική μετάφραση, με σύντομα σχόλια, επιλεγμένα έργα της Βυζαντινής Γραμματείας.

Η μελέτη έχει ως στόχο να παρουσιάσει την πλήρη εικόνα του βυζαντινού στρατού κατά τον δέκατο και ενδέκατο αιώνα, όπως δε τονίζει ο σ. στον πρόλογό του, η έρευνά του αποσκοπεί στο να προσδιορίσει, αξιοποιώντας όλες τις διαθέσιμες πηγές, τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της δομικής μεταβολής, που μετέτρεψε τις χερσαίες στρατιωτικές δυνάμεις του Βυζαντίου από *θεματικά στρατεύματα* σε επαγγελματικά στρατιωτικά τάγματα[2].

Όπως, σωστά και τεκμηριωμένα, επισημαίνεται, η ανάπτυξη της στρατιωτικής οργάνωσης του Κράτους και του θεσμού των Θεμάτων συνέκλινε στην πρώτη της φάση με τη διάρθρωση της στρατιωτικής δομής του· η εξέλιξη αυτή φτάνει στο αποκορύφωμά της κατά τη βασιλεία των δύο "στρατιωτών-αυτοκρατόρων"[3], Νικηφόρου Φωκά (963-969) και Ιωάννη Τσιμισκή (969-976). Από το σημείο αυτό και πλέον οι δύο θεσμοί ακολουθούν διαφορετικούς προσανατολισμούς.

Η διαπίστωση αυτής της μεταβολής αποτελεί και το σημείο τομής της μελέτης του συγγραφέα. Μετά την εισαγωγή της, στο πρώτο κεφάλαιο της μελέτης εξετάζονται τα τάγματα του βυζαντινού στρατού κατά τον ένατο και τις αρχές του δέκατου αιώνα· σε επιμέρους κεφάλαια μελετώνται τα παλαιότερα τάγματα: *Σχολαί, Ἐξκούβιτα, Βίγλα, Ἱκανᾶτοι* (47-121). Το δεύτερο κεφάλαιο έχει τον ενδεικτικό τίτλο "Τα τάγματα μετά τη στρατιωτική μεταρρύθμιση του Νικηφόρου Φωκά"[4]. Στο κεφάλαιο αυτό ο συγγραφέας εξετάζει, σε δυό επιμέρους τμήματα, κατ' αρχήν την οργάνωση της στρατιωτικής διοίκησης, που τελούσε υπό την ηγεσία του διδύμου, του *δομεστίκου τῶν Σχολῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς* και του *δομεστίκου τῶν Σχολῶν τῆς Δύσεως* (123-242)· το δεύτερο τμήμα του κεφαλαίου εξετάζει τα νεοδημιουργηθέντα τάγματα, όπως τα αποκαλεί ο συγγραφέας: *Ἀθάνατους, Στρατηλάτες, Σατράπες, τάγμα τῶν μεγαθύμων, τάγμα τῶν Ἀρχοντοπούλων, τάγμα τῶν Πατζινάκων Μογλενιτῶν, τάγμα τῶν Μανιχαίων*, αυτά που επονομάζει *"θεματικά τάγματα"*, καθώς και άλλα τάγματα, που δεν εντάσσονται στα προηγούμενα (243-260).

Το τρίτο, τελευταίο τμήμα του ίδιου κεφαλαίου είναι αφιερωμένο στις νέες μονάδες του τακτικού στρατού, που προέκυψαν από τη στρατιωτική μεταρρύθμιση, καθώς και στις συνακόλουθες αλλαγές στη στρατιωτική ιεραρχία (260-280)· εδώ αναλύονται νεοαπαντούμενοι όροι της στρατιωτικής ιεραρχίας, όπως *στρατοπεδάρχης τῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ στρατοπεδάρχης τῆς δύσεως, ἐθνάρχης, ὁπλιτάρχης, ἀρχηγέτης, ταξιάρχαι* κ.τ.λ. και προσδιορίζεται το περιεχόμενό τους και η λειτουργία των φορέων τους.

Πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι ο σ. κάνει πολυάριθμες χρήσιμες παρατηρήσεις, συχνά δε ανασκευάζει και τοποθετεί, με ακλόνητα επιχειρήματα, σε νέες σταθερές βάσεις, καθιερωμένες μέχρι σήμερα απόψεις. Εδώ μπορεί να υπογραμμίσει κάποιος π.χ. τις παρατηρήσεις για τη σημασία των *Σχολῶν* και την επίδρασή τους στη συγκρότηση και λειτουργία των υπολοίπων ταγμάτων[5], την ανάλυση του σ. για τις διαφορές μεταξύ *ἀξιῶν διὰ λόγου* και *ἀξιῶν διὰ βραβείου*[6], αλλά και πολλά άλλα θέματα, τα οποία δεν θεωρώ σκόπιμο να παραθέσω αναλυτικά. Δεν περιορίζεται σε αναφορές και επισημάνσεις για θέματα στρατιωτικής μονάχα ιστορίας· πολλές φορές οι γόνιμες και διεισδυτικές προσεγγίσεις του ανάγονται σε ζητήματα που αφορούν το περιεχόμενο και την εξέλιξη της ονομασίας ποικίλων αξιωμάτων και τίτλων. Έτσι η μελέτη αποτελεί, πράγματι, χρησιμότατο βοήθημα για πάρα πολλά θέματα που απασχολούν την έρευνα.

Αν και είναι αυτονόητο, θα επισημάνω ότι για τον αραβολόγο, που είναι ίσως ο κύριος αναγνώστης αυτού του τόμου, η έρευνα αυτή έχει ενδιαφέρον ξεχωριστό· ο σ. γνωρίζει, σ' όλη τους την έκταση, τις πληροφορίες των αραβικών πηγών, τις αξιολογεί και τις διασταυρώνει με επιμέλεια και οδηγείται σε χρήσιμα συμπεράσματα. Ενδεικτικά μπορεί να σημειωθεί π.χ. η σύγκριση και διοίκηση των μονάδων του βυζαντινού στρατού με τις πληροφορίες από το έργο του Ibn Chordadbeh, ενώ ο αναγνώστης μπορεί να πεισθεί για την πληρότητα του έργου, και ως προς το σημείο αυτό, με μια απλή ματιά στη βιβλιογραφία και τα ευρετήρια της μελέτης.

Ολοκληρώνοντας, δεν πρέπει να παραλείψω να εξάρω, μια ακόμη φορά, την αρτιότητα του έργου, που περιλαμβάνει πλήρη κατάλογο βιβλιογραφίας πηγών και βοηθημάτων, τον οποίον ο σ. εξαντλεί δημιουργικά και σ' όλη του την έκταση, κατά την πρόοδο της έρευνάς του.

Το γεγονός ότι υπάρχουν μερικά σημεία που δεν είναι πλήρως

1. Αξίζει να αναφερθεί ότι η προετοιμασία της εκτύπωσης και η επεξεργασία του έργου έγινε, εξολοκλήρου, στον ηλεκτρονικό υπολογιστή του Βυζαντινολογικού Ινστιτούτου του Πανεπιστημίου της Βιέννης, με το σύστημα επεξεργασίας κειμένων *xaepete*, που χρησιμοποιεί το Ινστιτούτο, όπως επισημαίνει στον πρόλογό του ο εκδότης της σειράς, καθηγητής Johannes Koder.

2. "Dabei kommt es unter möglichst vollständiger Auswertung aller erreichbaren Quellen darauf an, wesentliche Charakteristika der Umstrukturierung der byzantinischen Landstreikrafte von der Stratiotenmiliz der θέματα zur Berufsarmee der τάγματα deutlich werden zu lassen", 31.

3. "Soldatenkaiser", ο.π.

4. Die Tagmata nach der Heeresreform des Nikephoros Phokas, 123 κ.π.

5. 39 π., 73 κ.π.

6. 41, 46, 112, 156 και passim.

αποσαφηνισμένα δεν μειώνει, βέβαια, καθόλου την ποιότητα της εργασίας· άλλωστε, ορισμένα θέματα ο σ. επισημαίνει ότι σκόπιμα παραλείφθηκαν, γιατί δεν εντάσσονται άμεσα στο αντικείμενο της έρευνάς του[7]. Πάντως, μπορεί να προστεθεί στην κριτική αυτή νότα π.χ. ότι δεν είναι σαφές αν ο Μιχαήλ Μωρολέων, που παρουσιάζει ο συγγραφέας[8], είναι ο γνωστός από τις πηγές, πατρίκιος Μωρολέων, *"στρατηγῶν Ἀδριανουπόλεως"*[9]. Ας σημειωθεί, επίσης, ότι ο σ. στην παρουσίαση των προσωπογραφικών πληροφοριών και της ιστορίας του *Δουκάτου Αδριανουπόλεως* αναφέρεται στην περίοδο 969/971-1204[10], ενώ ο Peter Sustal, στην πρόσφατη έκδοση του τόμου για τη Θράκη της Tabula Imperii Byzantini, σημειώνει, βασιζόμενος στις σχετικές έρευνες του Οικονομίδη, ότι η ύπαρξη ενός *Δούκα Αδριανουπόλεως* πιστοποιείται για το διάστημα 971-975[11].

Ο εύχρηστος αυτός τόμος – μικρού σχήματος – συμπληρώνεται με ευρετήριο προσώπων, γεωγραφικό ευρετήριο και ευρετήριο τεχνικών όρων· κάρτες και πίνακες προστίθενται στο τέλος του και ολοκληρώνουν την εξαιρετική εικόνα, που δίνει στον αναγνώστη της η μελέτη.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΛΕΤΣΙΟΣ

7. Βλ. π.χ. 66 κ.π., όσον αφορά τους αλλοδαπούς μισθοφόρους (ἑταιρεῖαι).
8. 85.
9. Πρβλ. Peter Sustal, Thrakien (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6), Wien 1991, 162.
10. 206 κ.π.
11. Πρβλ. Sustal, ο.π., 163.

Αθανάσιος Ν. Παπαθανασίου, **Οι "Νόμοι των Ομηριτών". Ιεραποστολική προσέγγιση και ιστορική-νομική συμβολή. *Αθήνα 1991.***

Από τα έργα της βυζαντινής γραμματείας τα λιγότερο γνωστά είναι εκείνα που ανήκουν στο λεγόμενο "κύκλο της Νεγράν". Τα έργα αυτά αποτελούν τη μοναδική πηγή για τα γεγονότα που διαδραματίστηκαν στη Ν.Α. Αραβία – σημ. Υεμένη – το πρώτο μισό του 6ου αι., γεγονότα άκρως ενδιαφέροντα τόσο από άποψη ιστορική όσο και από την άποψη της πνευματικής ιστορίας, τα οποία όμως δεν έχουν τύχει ακόμα ανάλογης αντιμετώπισης.[1] Ήδη πριν έναν περίπου αιώνα ο Κ. Krumbacher έγραφε "Νέα ἔκδοσις εἶνε ὁ προκαταρκτικός ὅρος τῆς ἀπαιτουμένης ἐξερευνήσεως", αναφερόμενος στους "Νόμους των Ομηριτών" και στη "Διάλεξη μετά ιουδαίου Ερβάν"[2] και σήμερα η κατάσταση αυτή δεν έχει ουσιαστικά αλλάξει· παράδειγμα η πιο πρόσφατη έκδοση του κειμένου των "νόμων των Ομηριτών" είναι εκείνη της PG.[3]

Η διατριβή του κ. Παπαθανασίου "Οι "Νόμοι των Ομηριτών". Ιεραποστολική προσέγγιση και ιστορική-νομική συμβολή" αναφέρεται σε αυτό ακριβώς το κείμενο των "νόμων των Ομηριτών", το οποίο δεν έχει τύχει ακόμα καινούριας έκδοσης.

Το πρώτο μέρος του βιβλίου, η εισαγωγή (σελ. 13-51), έχει δύο σκοπούς:

1. Να λάβει ο αναγνώστης γνώση του "που" (σελ. 13-23) και "κάτω από ποιες συνθήκες" (σελ. 23-34) γράφτηκαν οι νόμοι των Ομηριτών. Το τμήμα αυτό είναι από τα πιο ενδιαφέροντα, επειδή ακριβώς το έργο δεν είναι από τα γνωστότερα και οι αναγνώστες χρειάζονται αυτές τις πληροφορίες. Το Γ΄ και το Δ΄ μέρος της εισαγωγής για παράδειγμα, τα οποία τιτλοφορούνται "Ο θρησκευτικός χάρτης της νότιας Αραβίας" (σελ. 23-28) και "Η Αιθιοπία" (σελ. 28-30) δίνουν το θρησκευτικό στίγμα των περιοχών αυτών, υπόθεση – ας σημειωθεί – αρκετά περίπλοκη.

2. Να γίνουν ευθύς εξαρχής γνωστές με σαφήνεια οι θέσεις του κ. Παπαθανασίου σχετικά με τους νόμους των Ομηριτών. Αυτό γίνεται συγκεκριμένα στο Η΄ μέρος της εισαγωγής με τίτλο "Οι θέσεις μας για τους νόμους των Ομηριτών" (σελ. 51-65), όπου μεταξύ άλλων διαβάζομε: "Η δική μας άποψη είναι ότι το κείμενο "Νόμοι των Ομηριτών" που βρίσκεται στην Patrologia Graeca, ΔΕΝ είναι κώδικας νόμων αλλά ΠΕΡΙΕΧΕΙ έναν κώδικα νόμων. Ο τίτλος του έργου είναι παραπλανητικός και προφανώς έχει μερίδιο ευθύνης για τη σύγχυση της σύγχρονης έρευνας. Ορθότερα θα έπρεπε να

1. Ποιά είναι τα έργα αυτά και ποιό ακριβώς το θέμα που καθένα πραγματεύεται μπορεί ο αναγνώστης να το πληροφορηθεί στις σελ. 35-44 της εισαγωγής του βιβλίου του κ. Παπαθανασίου. Ας σημειωθεί όμως, ότι ο συγγραφέας παραλείπει το έργο "Κατά αζύμων", το οποίο ανήκει επίσης στον "κύκλο της Νεγράν": βλ. V. Christides, The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (ca. 530 A.D.), *Annales d'Ethiopie* 9 (1972).
2. Karl Krumbacher, Ἱστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς λογοτεχνίας (Ἀθῆναι 1974, Φωτοτυπική ἀνατύπωσις ἐκδόσεως Μαρασλῆ) I, 110.
3. PG LXXXVI[1] (Paris 1860) 568^{A}-620^{C}.

ονομάζεται "Χρονικόν του Χριστιανικού Κράτους των Ομηριτών", "Περί των Νόμων των Ομηριτών" ή κάπως παρόμοια. Αυτό είναι σαφές από μία προσεκτική ανάγνωση του κειμένου, το οποίο διακρίνεται σε δύο μέρη: α) σε αφηγηματικά τμήματα και β) σε νομικές διατάξεις..." (σελ. 52 κ.εξ.).

Στο Α΄ κεφ. ο συγγραφέας επιχειρεί να παρουσιάσει – στην αρχή – τις συνθήκες της δημιουργίας του χριστιανικού ομηριτικού κράτους. Είναι η χρονική περίοδος που έπεται του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Αρέθα, η εποχή που ο χριστιανισμός επικράτησε πλήρως και το ομηριτικό βασίλειο είναι χριστιανικό. Επισημαίνονται λοιπόν δύο παράγοντες:

1. Η εθνική και εδαφική συνέχεια. Το έθνος και η χώρα των Ομηριτών είναι παράγοντες σταθεροί· δε μεταβλήθηκαν δηλ. μετά τη νίκη του Ελεσβαάν, την ήττα του Δουναάν και την επικράτηση του χριστιανισμού (σελ. 70-79).
2. Η πολιτική ασυνέχεια. Η κρατική εξουσία έχει μεταβληθεί (σελ. 80-85).

Στη συνέχεια, ενώ γνωρίζομε ότι δύο αυτοί παράγοντες είναι τα σταθερά μοτίβα της επικράτησης του χριστιανισμού στο ομηριτικό βασίλειο, μας δίνεται η εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρουσα περιγραφή της ανάδειξης του καινούριου βασιλιά των Ομηριτών.

Από τη μία παραθέτει ο συγγραφέας το κείμενο των "Νόμων των Ομηριτών" και ειδικότερα το θαύμα που έλαβε χώρα κατά την εκλογή του νέου βασιλιά των Ομηριτών, μετά τα γεγονότα που περιγράφονται στο μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα.[4] Από την άλλη αντιπαραθέτει άλλες πηγές που αναφέρονται στην εκλογή του ομηρίτη βασιλιά ("Μαρτύριο του αγίου Αρέθα", "Βιβλίο των Ομηριτών", "Βίος του Γρηγεντίου"), στις οποίες όμως γίνεται προσπάθεια να ενισχυθεί η εντύπωση της "επιβολής" του ομηρίτη βασιλιά στους Ομηρίτες από τους Αιθίοπες με όλα τα πολιτικά παρεπόμενα της "επιβολής" αυτής. Ο συγγραφέας δηλ., σε ένα από τα πιο ενδιαφέροντα σημεία του βιβλίου, μας παρουσιάζει τους "νόμους των Ομηριτών" σαν ένα μέσο πολιτικής ανεξαρτητοποίησης των Ομηριτών από τους Αιθίοπες, οι οποίοι τους είχαν βοηθήσει. Βέβαια εδώ οφείλομε να αναφέρομε, ότι ο συγγραφέας χρησιμοποιεί τα αποσπάσματα του "Βίου του αγίου Γρηγεντίου επισκόπου Ταφάρ", τα οποία έχει εκδόσει ο Vasiliev.[5] Μια συνολική μελέτη όμως του έργου αυτού ίσως δώσει απαντήσεις σε προβλήματα που αφορούν τους "νόμους των Ομηριτών".

Στο Β΄ κεφ. ο συγγραφέας ασχολείται με τη διαδικασία της παγίωσης του χριστιανισμού στο ομηριτικό βασίλειο, που επιτυγχάνεται – κατά τη γνώμη του συγγραφέα – με τρεις τρόπους (σελ. 149):

"α. Βάπτιση όλου του (μη χριστιανικού) πληθυσμού,
β. Κατάτμηση της χώρας σε Γειτονίες, και
γ. Η εκπόνηση νέων, χριστιανικών, νόμων".

4. "Την εκλογή του νέου βασιλέως ενεργεί ο ίδιος ο Θεός, κυριολεκτικά: "δύναμις Κυρίου ἐλθοῦσα ἥρπασεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος τὸν ἄξιον καὶ ἤγαγε καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν κατέναντι" του Γρηγεντίου και του Ελεσβαάν" (σελ. 102).

5. A.A. Vasiliev, Zitije sv. Grigentija, episkopa Omiritskago, *VV* 14 (1907) 23-67.

"Κατά τη γνώμη του συγγραφέα" λέμε διότι είναι απόλυτα κατανοητό να είναι τρόπος και μέσο παγίωσης του χριστιανισμού το βάπτισμα και η νέα χριστιανική νομοθεσία, ή, για να χρησιμοποιήσομε την ορολογία του συγγραφέα, αποτελούν ένα τρόπο έκφρασης ιεραποστολής.[6] Όσον αφορά τις γειτονίες όμως μπορούν να τεθούν πολλά ερωτηματικά. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, οι γειτονίες έχουν χωροταξικό-διοικητικό χαρακτήρα, ο οποίος αναμφισβήτητα βοηθάει στην καλύτερη και ταχύτερη λειτουργία της διοίκησης. Σωστά επισημαίνει ο συγγραφέας "Σχηματικά μπορούμε να μιλήσομε για την κλίμακα "άτομο-οικογενειάρχης-γειτονιάρχης-έπαρχος-βασιλέας". Οι γειτονίες παρείχαν τους μηχανισμούς εποπτείας των υπηκόων και, ταυτόχρονα, αποτελούσαν τον συνδετικό κρίκο τους με την κεντρική εξουσία, η οποία, διαφορετικά, πολύ δύσκολα θα μπορούσε να ασκεί τόσο ολοκληρωτικό και "αδιάκριτο" έλεγχο" (σελ. 178). Σχέση γειτονίας-παγίωσης του χριστιανισμού δε διαφαίνεται πουθενά, εκτός αν δεχθούμε πως αποτελούν μέσο καλύτερης παρακολούθησης των ατόμων στο αν εμπαίδωσαν ή όχι το χριστιανισμό. Ας σημειωθεί ότι στη σημείωση 47 του Β΄ κεφ. ο συγγραφέας έχει συγκεντρώσει όλες τις απόψεις τις σχετικές με τις γειτονίες των Ομηριτών.

Το κεφ. Γ΄ είναι το μέρος του βιβλίου που ασχολείται πιο άμεσα με τους νόμους. Διαβάζοντάς το σχηματίζομε μία εικόνα, τι ακριβώς ήταν οι "νόμοι των Ομηριτών" για τους οποίους η N. Pigulewskaja γράφει "Was sind aber die "Gesetze der Himyariten", was bringt dieses von Griechen für die Himyariten verfaßte Werk zum Ausdruck? Sein charakteristischer Zug ist, daß die vorgeschlagenen Gesetze oder Vorschriften mit unwesentlichen Änderungen aus den reichhaltigen juristischen Codices des Byzantinischen Reiches geschöpft sind, das zur Zeit Justinians so gesetzgebungsfreudig war. Die Verfasser ließen sich von den Normen leiten, die zu ihrer Zeit in ihrem Lande herrschten und ihnen bekannt waren".[7]

Η παρουσίαση των "νόμων των Ομηριτών" στο κεφάλαιο αυτό δεν είναι μια απλή παράθεση διατάξεων αλλά συνοδεύεται από παρατηρήσεις που πραγματικά βοηθούν τον αναγνώστη στην καλύτερη κατανόηση της νομοθεσίας αυτής· ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι ο κ. Παπαθανασίου έχει σπουδάσει και Νομικά. Για παράδειγμα στις σελίδες 228-235, όπου εξετάζεται η αντιμετώπιση της πορνείας και της μοιχείας, οι παρατηρήσεις οι σχετικές με το σκοπό των ποινών που επιβάλλονται για τις πράξεις αυτές καθώς και η αιτιολόγηση της ποινικής διαφοράς για τις δύο αυτές πράξεις βοηθούν αποφασιστικά στη διευκρίνηση του πνεύματος των νόμων αυτών.

Τελειώνοντας οφείλομε να εκφράσομε μια παρατήρηση:

6. "Τις λέξεις 'ιεραποστολή'-'ιεραποστολικός' τις χρησιμοποιούμε ως καθιερωμένους, συμβατικούς όρους προκειμένου να δηλώσουμε γενικά αντιλήψεις ή ενέργειες που υπαγορεύονται από τη βασική πρόθεση προς διάδοση του Χριστιανισμού" (σελ. 63).

7. N. Pifulewskaja, Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien, [Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 36] (Berlin-Amsterdam 1969) 203.

Βλέποντας το βιβλίο, του οποίου η εξωτερική μορφή φυσικά θα αλλάξει όταν τυπωθεί κανονικά – με τη μορφή που το έχω στα χέρια μου αποτελείται από 553 σελίδες και είναι αρκετά δύσχρηστο – οφείλομε να παρατηρήσομε ότι δε θα πρέπει να είναι τόσο εκτενείς οι σημειώσεις στην κανονική έκδοση. Δεν αμφισβητούμε καθόλου την αξία των σημειώσεων αυτών, στις οποίες επεξηγούνται πράγματα που άλλως θα έμεναν απαρατήρητα, όμως πρέπει να βρεθεί ένας τρόπος να περιοριστεί η έκτασή τους.

Κλείνοντας εκφράζομε την ευχή ο κ. Παπαθανασίου, ο οποίος με τη διατριβή του μας έπεισε για την ποιότητα της δουλειάς του, να μη σταματήσει την ενασχόλησή του με τα έργα του "κύκλου της Νεγράν" με αυτό του το βιβλίο.

Σ. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

Yaacov Lev*, State and Society in Fatimid Egypt. *Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991, 217 pp. U.S. $65.00.

The Fatimid dynasty was one of the most important and successful in the medieval Islamic world. Yet, aside from D. O'Leary's useful but outdated *Short History of the Fatimid Caliphate* (London, 1923), A. Hamdani's hard to find *The Fatimids* (Karachi, 1962), and M. Canard's "Fatimids" (*Encyclopedia of Islam,* new edition), the non-Arabist has had to cobble together his/her understanding of the basic issues, events, and personalities of Fatimid Egypt (359-568/969-1171) from scattered articles, and difficult to obtain Phd. dissertations. The field has been much better served, however, for the North African and Syrian periods of Fatimid rule. F. Dachraoui has ably presented the North African phase of Fatimid rule in his insightful and detailed *Le Califat Fatimide au Maghreb (296-365 H./ 909-975 Jc.) Histoire Politique et Institutions* (Tunis, 1981); T. Bianquis has done the same for the Fatimids in Syria in his excellent *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination Fatimide (359-368/969-1076): essai d'interpretation de chroniques Arabes médiévales,* 2 tomes (Damas, 1986, 1989).

A new monograph on Fatimid Egypt is long overdue; Professor Lev's *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt,* based on his Phd. dissertation "A Political Study of Egypt and Syria under the Early Fatimids 358/968-386/996," (Manchester, 1978) and a series of twelve articles published between 1979 and 1988, is a useful and carefully documented addition to the field of Fatimid studies. *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* is a monograph of 217 pages including text, notes, bibliography and index. Understandably, a work of this length cannot provide a definitive study of 200 years of Fatimid rule in Egypt. What Professor Lev has provided is a collection of studies which approach the subject from three separate, though related, angles. Part One (chapters 1-4) is a narrative account of Fatimid rule in Egypt. Part Two (chapters 5-7) focuses on the Fatimid military. Part Three (chapters 8-10) deals with the urban milieu of the Fatimid regime, primarily that of Fustat/Cairo.

Narrative political history is often looked at askance these days as terribly old-fashioned and elitist. Yet if one is to undertake the study of the more egalitarian themes that fall under the broad rubric of social history, an integrated analysis of the politcal actors, institutions, and events of the period and society in question is fundamental. In his first four chapters, Professor Lev gives us the basic chronology of events during Fatimid rule in Egypt. In addition to a political narrative, Professor Lev provides us with occasional short sketches of the ruling family and its administrators, slaves and eunuches. One of the more interesting of these is his brief sketch of the activities, architectural patronage, and rather substantial financial holdings of some of the key women among the Fatimid ruling family such as Sitt al-Mulk, al-Hakim's (386-411/996-1021) sister, and Sayyida Rasad, al-Mustansir's (427-487/1036-1094) mother.

The chronology presented in these chapters at times is confusing, in part because Professor Lev assumes a fair amount of knowledge on the part of his

reader. This may prove frustrating for the newcomer to the field. The confusion could be clarified somewhat if the specific dates of a given ruler, wazir or general were provided in the text with greater consistency. Also, it would be helpful to have included a chart of Fatimid imams, wazirs, generals, etc., in an appendix. Reference can be made to C.E. Bosworth's, *The Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook* (Edinburgh, 1967) for the imams, but one remains at a loss for wazirs, generals and other important personalities.

In his discussion of the Fatimid military (chapters 5-7) Professor Lev provides a general discussion of the important position held by the Kutama Berbers in the Fatimid military – they were the core of the Fatimids' successes in North African period (909-969) and the conquest of Egypt (969) – and their subsequent decline in the wake of al-'Aziz's (365-386/975-996) decision to alter the ethnic composition of the Fatimid military in order to include Turkish cavalry. We learn that this was done in response to Fatimid defeats in Syria at the hands of Turkish cavalry who, as mounted archers, were more effective than the Kutama and other Berber cavalry units who primarily used lances. The position of the Kutama continued to wane under al-Hakim (386-411/996-1-21) with his decision to include large numbers of black slave troops as infantry in the Fatimid army. The description of these reforms is sound, but crucial issues such as the origins, methods of recruitment, and training of the various ethnic groups in the Fatimid military are not pursued beyond rather cursory statements.

In his account of the Fatimid army and navy's performance against the Crusader forces Professor Lev argues one basic point – the Fatimids were the primary Muslim defenders against the Crusaders until the dynasty's collapse at the hands of Saladin in 567/1171. As the only Muslim naval presence in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Crusader period, the Fatimid navy was small and ultimately ineffective; and in spite of al-'Aziz and al-Hakim's reforms, initiated a century earlier, the Fatimid army – cavalry and infantry – proved to be ineffective as well.

In chapters 8-10 Professor Lev turns his attention to life in Fustat/Cairo, the capital of the Fatimid regime. In addition to his discussion of the role of Ismailism in Egypt beyond the world of the court (chapter 8) and the offices of the police and chief market inspector – *muhtasib* – (chapter 9), Professor Lev provides us an account of Fatimid attitudes toward their non-Muslim subjects (chapter 10). He argues that "the attitude of the Fatimid *imams,* with the exception of al-Hakim, toward churches and monasteries (and apparently synagogues) was generally relaxed and not bigoted" (p. 189). Nor were the Fatimids averse to employing large numbers of Christians and Jews in their administration; yet it was only under al-'Aziz (365-386/975-996) and al-Hafiz (525-544/1131-1149) that non-Muslims were elevated to the post of wazir. Professor Lev also addresses the issue of religious syncretism in Fatimid Egypt with a brief discussion of the Muslim population's veneration of Christian ascetics and saints as well as their active participation in the celebration of Christian festivals such as Epiphany (in Egypt) and Palm Sunday (in Jerusalem).

One of the major strengths of the work is the comprehensive bibliography of original and secondary sources in the notes. Especially in the narrative chapters, many issues are not developed fully. If one wants to pursue a given issue more fully, he/she can easily follow up Professor Lev's comments by tracking down the original sources and scholarly studies upon which they are based. Finally, one does not like to sound too pedantic, but for a book priced at U.S. $65.00, the copy-editing of this book is extremely shoddy. One would think that a competent copy-editor who is a native speaker of English could have been found to edit the text before it was sent off to the printer. Simply put, there are numerous errors in idiom, spelling, transliteration and bibliographic format throughout the text. Nevertheless, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* is the only work of its type available and most likely will be the standard reference work for Egypt under the Fatimids for some time to come.